A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

WHO WILL PAY FOR "STAR WARS"

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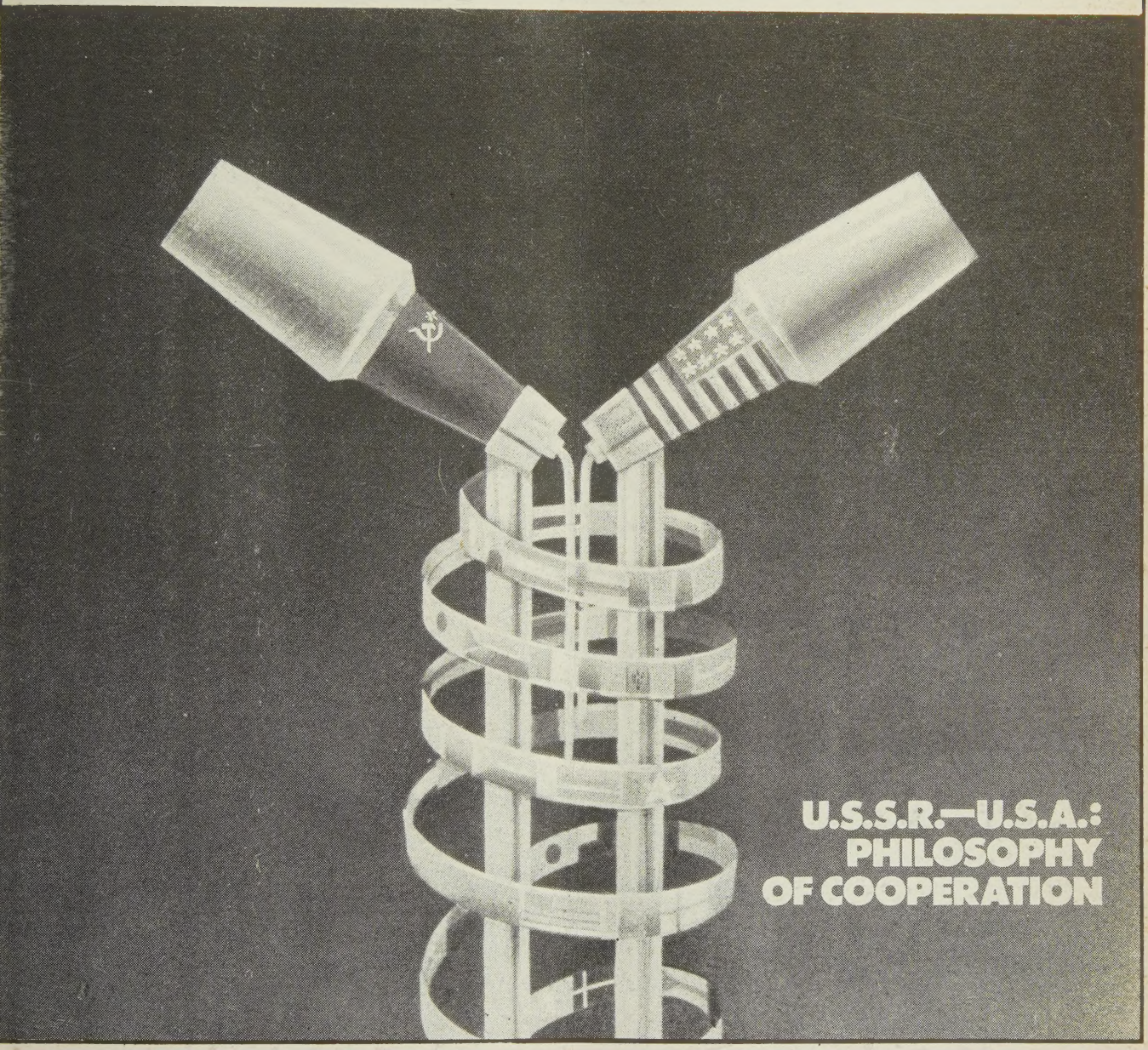
# NEW TIMES



## U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.: PHILOSOPHY OF COOPERATION

PRC PRESS ON THE REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION

THE SCALPEL INSTEAD OF INSULIN?

1917–1987

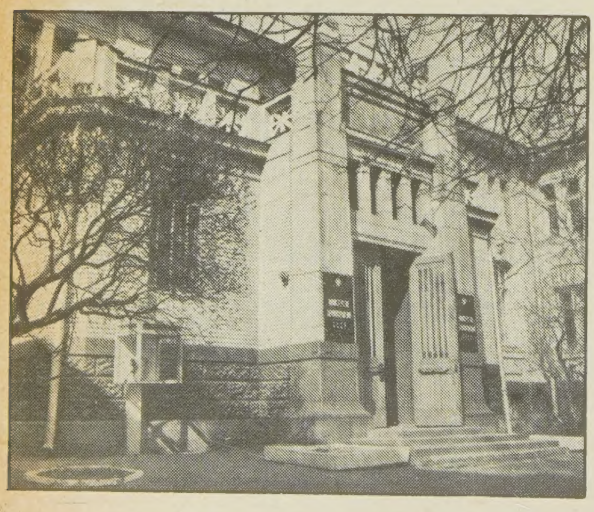
# TIME AND PEOPLE

Factory whistle, 1930.

"I went to Rakhmanovsky Lane, to the labour exchange which occupied the building that today houses the Ministry of Health. I registered as an unemployed and asked to be sent to some factory. More than once I had been sent by the labour exchange along with other lads of my age to unload firewood, bricks or potatoes from railway cars." It is hard to believe that this was how the working career of Alexander Yakovlev, who was to become the world-known airplane designer, began in 1923.

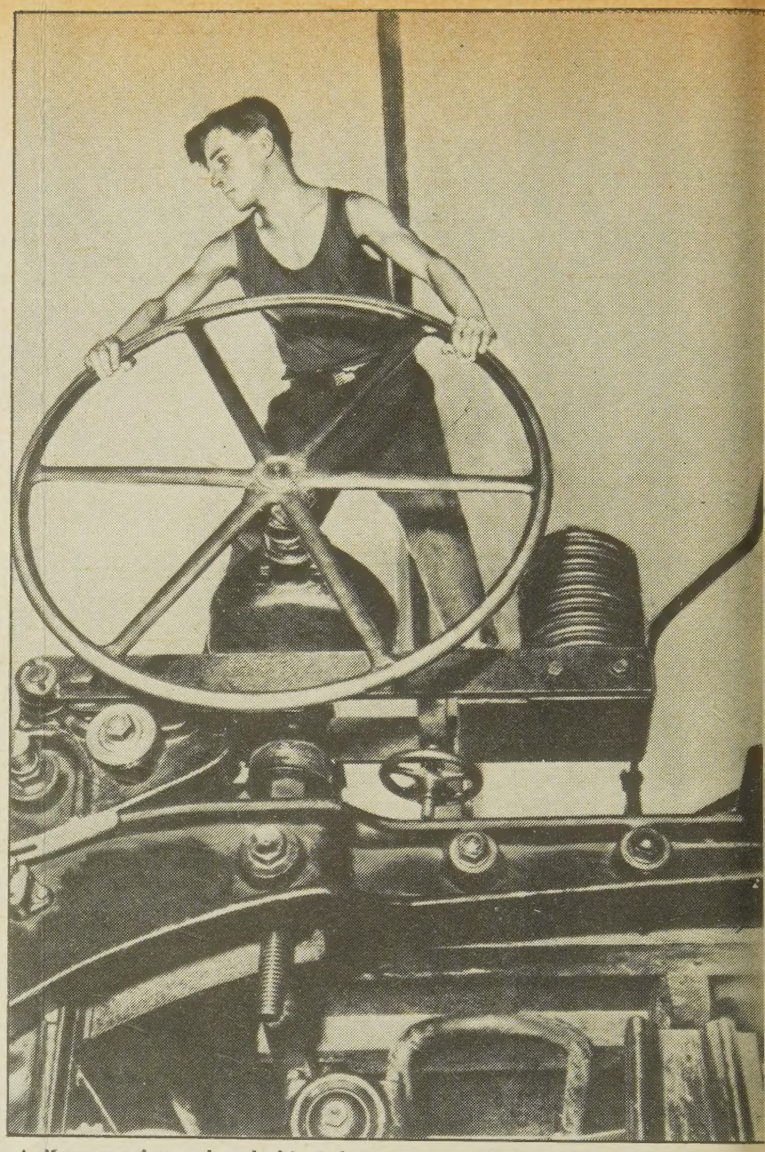
The problem of unemployment the Soviet government inherited from tsarist Russia was aggravated by the world war and the civil war, the intervention and the general dislocation of the economy. Industry and transport were virtually paralyzed. Many workers from plants and factories now standing idle left for the countryside to be closer to the sources of food. And from the villages, where harvests were poor, peasants trekked to the towns in the hope of finding some means of subsistence.

This building in Rakhmanovsky Lane used to house the labour exchange, Alexander Yakovlev recalls.



The Soviet government did everything it could to ease the lot of the unemployed. The labour exchanges were reorganized. The jobless received benefits in money and in kind, as well as clothing. They were exempted from taxes, given free medical care and municipal services. Labour colonies, canteens and dormitories were opened for juveniles. But all these measures were merely palliatives that did not solve the problem.

Unemployment reached its peak immediately after the civil war. The country was in a state of utter ruin.



A Komsomol member behind the steering wheel. 1931.

The demobilization of the army began. In January 1922 there were 160,000 registered unemployed (note: the working class of Russia at that time numbered 4.6 million). A year later the number of jobless rose to 641,000 and by July 1924, to over a million.

The Soviet government saw that the only way out lay in industrialization. However, by the end of 1926, when the restoration of the war-wrecked national economy was completed, there were still more than a million registered unemployed. A great many of them lacked the professional skills needed to man the plants and factories, and so a decision was adopted to start the training of workers, special emphasis being laid on the training of the unemployed.

But it was the first five-year plan that put an end to unemployment in this country. More and more industrial enterprises were being built and several industrial giants were under construction. Workers were needed everywhere. The collective farm movement was gaining headway in the countryside.

The ranks of the jobless diminished rapidly and by the end of 1930 unemployment had virtually been abolished. In under 15 years the Soviet power succeeded in solving what to this day remains an acute social problem for many countries in the West.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

# NEW TIMES

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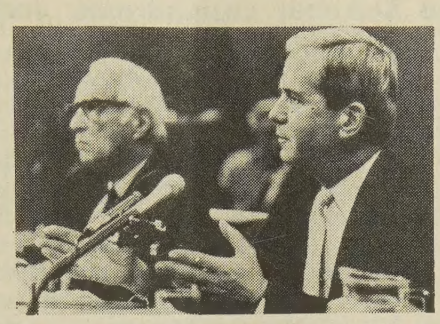
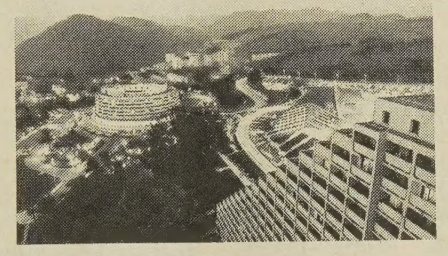


Robert McFarlane testifying at the Irangate hearings.



The Dagomys complex is both attractive and rational.

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# A CALL FOR ACTION

**From Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to representatives of the work collectives of the Baikonur cosmodrome and the town of Leninsk**

The unique research and testing complex created by the labour and talent of Soviet scientists, workers, engineers and military specialists is an embodiment of Lenin's dream of turning our state into a great industrial power.

●

This is a veritable testing ground for advanced engineering thought and I would say that in all the main directions it is fitted out according to the last word in science and technology.

●

I should particularly like to single out the following. Everything here at the cosmodrome, from the sophisticated launching installations, testing stands and laboratories to the powerful carrier rockets, space vehicles, and their life-support systems equipped with modern computers and highly sensitive instruments—all this is Soviet-made, everything is of high quality and abreast of modern technological standards. A simple but very important question again comes to my mind: why is it that at times we try to buy abroad even simple things if today we are capable of resolving such tremendous, large-scale and complex problems.

Everything I have seen here once again deeply convinces me that in this respect there is no need for us to go cap in hand to foreign lands. No embargoes, none of the bans on the sale of technology and equipment to us imposed by some foreign circles, will slow down our country's development, the implementation of the major socio-economic objectives connected with restructuring our economy and accelerating its growth.

●

The tasks set by the 27th Congress to our science and technology and especially to Soviet machine-building are within our capabilities and will be attained. And this is the key link for advancing our economy to new frontiers, to a new technological level, and getting a more resource-saving performance from all branches of the national economy.

●

Our course towards a peaceful outer space is not a manifestation of weakness. It is an expression of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We propose to the world community cooperation in peaceful space exploration. It is meeting with a positive response throughout the world. We are against the arms race, in outer space as well as elsewhere.

American ruling circles are making frantic efforts to put obstacles in the way of the progress that is being made in the search for accords. The present moment in the development of the world situation is an important one. We must act dynamically and thoughtfully; we will do everything necessary to achieve real progress. Here our interests also coincide with those of the Americans and all other peoples. They do not coincide with the interests of those who are making money out of the arms race and want to achieve military superiority via outer space.

●

It has never been more important for the international public and all progressive forces to rise to the struggle against the forces that do not want disarmament. Everything that concerns the arms race is now so serious that the world is at a crossroads. The question is what road it takes.

It is imperative that the chance offered by our policy of initiatives should not be missed. It is supported by broad circles around the world. We will act consistently in order to change international relations for the better.

●

All talk about protection from nuclear arms is the greatest deception of the peoples. It is from this standpoint that we evaluate the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative which the American administration is trying to implement.

SDI means not only plundering taxpayers. It is a senseless idea from the point of view of defence. What is the greatest danger presented by SDI that we should be aware of? It destroys strategic stability, and extends the arms race to outer space, which will in turn further exacerbate the arms race on earth.

●

We are categorically against spreading the arms race to outer space. We see our duty in demonstrating the serious danger of SDI to the whole world.

We are convinced that by acting in this manner we are acting in the interests of the Soviet people and in those of other peoples. We are calling on everybody to act.

●

People are alarmed by the international situation. Resistance to militarism is mounting and we are deeply appreciative of the efforts of the international public in the struggle against the danger of war.

# LOOKING INTO THE PAST FOR THE SAKE OF THE FUTURE

GEORGI KORNIENKO

The first two Soviet-American documents on strategic arms were signed in Moscow 15 years ago, on May 26, 1972: the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

## A hard-reached agreement

Four multilateral agreements concerning nuclear arms had already been in operation by that time: on the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water (1963), on the prohibition of the deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in outer space (1967), on nuclear non-proliferation (1968), and on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor (1971).

Drafted on the initiative of the Soviet Union and as a result of its persistent efforts, all these agreements, both separately, and even more so, together, were of exceptional importance. They were the first evidence of mankind's awareness of the need to arrest the spread of the nuclear plague throughout the world and to prevent its penetration into outer space.

But despite their importance none of these four agreements prevented the quantitative buildup and qualitative improvement of nuclear arms by the five states that had at that time acquired them.

So in 1972 the two most powerful countries reached an agreement to set certain limits to the growth of their strategic offensive nuclear-missile weapons and, what is particularly important (despite the seeming paradox, with which I will deal later) to reduce their strategic defensive systems to a minimum.

It was extremely difficult to reach these agreements. There were purely objective difficulties connected, for instance, with the need to find common denominators despite all the differences in the structures of the strategic armaments of the sides, differences explained by historical, geographical, technological and other factors. But subjective, which included psychological, differences were just as great, if not even more formidable. For it was the first time that the leaders and representatives of the two powers had to discuss and resolve many issues concerning weapon systems which, prior to that, had been zealously guarded by each side.

## The logic behind breaching ABM

It was especially hard to overcome the psychological barrier when it came to working out an ABM treaty. Since time immemorial national defence was held sacred—how could one give up one's right to defence? This theme is to be found in statements not only by many American but also by some Soviet leaders of that period, as some people in the West rarely tire of saying.

It is important, however, that eventually the common view gained the ascendant: in the nuclear-missile age the indisputable right of every country to defence—and as such this right will always exist—can best be realized through the mutual renunciation of the anti-ballistic missile defence of one's territory.

It is only at first glance that this conclusion seems strange. But its meaning can be grasped by anyone who wishes to get to the crux of the issue. And the crux is that, in the absence of territorial ABM systems, each side is forced clearly to realize that in the event of delivering a nuclear strike at the other side it will suffer irreparable damage even from a weakened retaliatory strike. The creation of a large-scale ABM system by one side would inevitably generate fear in the other side that this was being done with a view to delivering a sudden first nuclear strike and then, with the help of this system, reducing the already weakened retaliatory strike to an "acceptable" level.

In turn, this would force the other side either to create its own ramified ABM system or substantially build up and improve its offensive strategic arms —probably some combination of the former and the latter with perhaps something else as well. There would be only one result: an endless spiralling of the arms race with each loop increasing the danger of nuclear catastrophe in a geometrical progression.

Such are the laws of logic that fifteen years ago led to the elaboration of the Soviet-American treaty, according to which each side renounced the creation of an anti-ballistic missile defence of its territory. These laws of logic are permanent and unchanging. And that is why this treaty is of **unlimited duration.**

Cartoon by Nikolai Shcherbakov

It is undeniable that this was an additional impediment to the drafting of the treaty, as it was necessary to find such solutions and express them in wording that would not lose its meaning with time. It was painstaking work, but they were found—and there are no ambiguities in the ABM treaty. The appearance in Washington today of various "interpreters" of the document is explained not by any such ambiguities but by the desire to render the treaty meaningless.

I will return to this subject, but first I should like to take up another point. Why, despite all the difficulties of working out the first Soviet-American accords on questions of limiting strategic arms, including the ABM treaty, did it not take the parties concerned a great

deal of time (just over two and a half years from the commencement of the talks in 1969 to the signing of the documents in May 1972) to formalize them?

## The victories and defeats of realism

Unquestionably, this was possible because the then American leadership headed by President Richard Nixon made a realistic assessment of the alignment of forces in the world and the lines along which it was likely to develop and, together with the Soviet leadership, arrived at the following conclusion: in the nuclear age there is no basis other than peaceful coexistence for the maintenance of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

The mutual readiness of the two countries to resolve questions concerning the limitation of their strategic armaments on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security stemmed naturally from this conclusion of fundamental importance formulated in the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

Owing to their mutual understanding of this principled basis for relations between them, the Soviet Union and the United States followed up—as early as in 1973—the first accords of 1972 with the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, and an understanding on the basic principles of talks on the further limitation of strategic arms. Furthermore, only a year later, in 1974, they signed a Protocol to the ABM treaty, under which they pledged to restrict their ABM systems still further, and a treaty establishing a ceiling to the yield of underground nuclear explosions. That year agreement was also reached on the main parameters of the next treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms (the so-called Vladivostok accord) which went much further than the Interim Agreement of 1972.

After that the drafting of this treaty (SALT-2) slowed down and was concluded only five years later and the treaty, when at last it was signed in 1979, was not ratified. But this has its explanation. The quarters in the United States which refused to accept the need to base relations with the U.S.S.R. on parity were already gaining in strength in those years.

The activities of these quarters reached their high point with the coming to power of the Reagan administration. A foreign policy course based on strength was publicly proclaimed and the principle of equality and equal security in relations with the U.S.S.R. was anathematized. This was openly stated both by the President and the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger. And though with the passage of time and under the pressure of circumstances they began to express these views less bluntly, there were no changes at all in their emphasis on power politics and the attainment of military superiority.

Counting on U.S. technological advantages, the Reagan administration chose the attempt to make an armed breakthrough into outer space as the principal means of attaining this end. Without any beating about the bush, Caspar Weinberger defined the aim of the American space programme as follows: if the U.S. succeeds in creating a system that will render Soviet armaments ineffective, we will be able to return to a situation when the United States is the only country possessing nuclear arms. For reasons of camouflage this programme was called the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI).

## How Mr Perle "almost fell off his chair"

And it was here that the ABM treaty became a huge thorn in the flesh of the Reagan administration. At first Washington simply tried to ignore the existence of the treaty, pretending that SDI was just an innocuous research programme that did not affect the ABM treaty in any way.

Predictably they were unable to pull the wool over people's eyes for long. But meanwhile the authors of SDI were becoming increasingly eager to start to implement it as quickly as possible. It was then that a new manoeuvre was undertaken—the "broad interpretation" of the ABM treaty was put forward. Its essence boils down to the contention that the ban on the creation (development), testing and deployment of ABM systems or components of space and other types of mobile basing provided for by the treaty's Article V, supposedly applies only to those components that existed at the time of the treaty's conclusion and which are listed in its Article II (ABM interceptor missiles, launchers for them and radars of a certain type). But since the ABM systems and components developed under the SDI programme are based on other physical principles, it is supposedly admissible to develop and test them without any restrictions whatsoever, in outer space included. And it is only the question of limitations on their deployment that is open to discussion. References are made to one of the annexes to the treaty mentioning ABM systems of such a new type (Statement D).

The juridical untenability and, moreover, logical absurdity of such an "interpretation" is obvious to any literate person who has taken the trouble to read the text of the ABM treaty. The following precise definition is contained in Article II: "For the purpose of this Treaty an ABM system is a system to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory." This definition is of a **functional** nature—it applies to **any** system capable of hitting missiles (incidentally this is confirmed also by the presence of the indefinite article before the word "system" in the English text). The fact that the said functional definition of the term "ABM system" is supplemented with a list of the components of which such a system "currently" consists (at the time of the signing of the treaty) emphasizes once again that the list of components cited in the article (ABM interceptor missiles, ABM launchers and ABM radars) can in no way be considered exhaustive for all time. The reason for including the word **"currently"** was to preclude the slightest possibility of incorrectly interpreting Article II.

The complete groundlessness of references to Statement D is also seen from its text: the statement allows for the development and testing only of ground stationary ABM systems of a new type to replace existing ones in the restricted areas permitted by the treaty—one for each side. This statement has no relation whatsoever to Article V, which prohibits the creation of space and other mobile ABM systems.

In its annual reports to the U.S. Congress, right up to 1985, when the Pentagon invented the "broad interpretation," the present administration, too, held to this sole correct understanding of the issue. Although it is commonly held that the legal adviser to the U.S. State Department, Abraham Sofaer, is the author of this interpretation, in reality this lawyer was called in to formalize it at a later date, apparently to impart greater respectability to the ploy. In reality the "broad interpretation" was cooked up in the office of Assistant Secretary of Defence Richard Perle. It was on his instigation that the New York lawyer Philip Kunsberg, who until then had dealt only with matters pertaining to pornography and the Mafia made the "discovery" required by his client (it took him less than a week to "study" materials related to the ABM treaty). According to The Washington Post, when Kunsberg presented the results of his "research" to Perle the latter jumped from joy, almost falling off his chair.

All American participants in the drafting of the ABM treaty (with the exception of Paul Nitze, who went over to the treaty's opponents)—four predecessors of Sofaer in the post of legal adviser to the U.S. State Department, six predecessors of Caspar Weinberger in the post of Secretary of Defence, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn and many others, armed with facts and convincing arguments, attacked the absurd interpretation of the treaty invented by Perle and Co.

# A visit to Moscow

**Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, was in Moscow on an official friendly visit from May 18 to 21 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.**

**Mikhail Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh expressed their profound satisfaction with the dynamic development of relations between the CPSU and the CPV, and between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, these relations have been sealed by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.**

**Examining the key issues of world development, the two leaders reaffirmed the determination of both parties and countries to continue to promote their cooperation with other socialist states and all progressive and peace-loving forces, in the attempt to safeguard peace and strengthen international security.**

Yet the Reagan administration persists in its intention to derail the ABM treaty, as it has already managed to do with the Interim Agreement on SALT-1 and the SALT-2 treaty. But it understands the impossibility of scrapping the ABM treaty out of hand, given the present alignment of political forces in the United States, Congress included, and in the world as a whole. True, the treaty provides for the right of each side to withdraw from it after notifying the other side six months in advance. But this right cannot be used arbitrarily. It is necessary to substantiate the decision with proof that exceptional circumstances connected with the content of the treaty have appeared and placed the supreme interests of the state in jeopardy. In the absence of such circumstances, the administration is aware that it is impossible to prove the contrary to anyone, including the U.S. Congress. Moreover, without the latter's approval no such insane act could be carried out.

Therefore, along with attempts to render the ABM treaty meaningless by way of the "broad interpretation," the American administration would very much like to persuade the Soviet side to give up the treaty "without any fuss" and replace it with another treaty that would regulate the order in which space-based ABM systems are developed. President Reagan directly proposed this in Reykjavik. Despite the obvious and clearly expressed negative response of the Soviet side, the American side continues to return to this proposal.

The reasoning of U.S. representatives can be reduced to the following: if the ABM treaty did once make any sense it was only because there were no technical possibilities for creating an effective ABM system. But now, they contend, such possibilities exist and for this reason the treaty has not only become meaningless but has also become "immoral," as it prevents the creation of ABM systems capable of protecting human lives.

Such reasoning can only be described as "perverse logic." Of course nobody is denying the fact that science and technology have made major advances in the time since the signing of the ABM treaty. But if as a result of this it is now possible to create a more effective ABM system than was possible early in the 1970s, the need to preserve and, even more so, strengthen the ABM treaty is not reduced but increased by virtue of the very laws of logic that brought the treaty into being.

Naturally, it is not enough merely to preserve everything on which we managed to achieve accord in the past, because, for all their importance, all previous accords are capable only of diminishing the threat of nuclear catastrophe and not of eliminating it completely.

A realistic way of attaining this great aim was proposed in the January 15, 1986, statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev. This is a detailed programme for eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction within a historically short period of time—before the end of the present century.

Since then, the Soviet Union has taken other far-reaching steps in its striving to give an impulse to the process of nuclear disarmament. For this reason, it made a number of serious concessions on the questions under discussion, concerning both medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and strategic offensive arms.

But if resolving questions concerning medium- and shorter-range missiles is possible in the form of separate accords, the radical reduction and subsequent elimination of strategic nuclear arms will be possible only in combination with measures preventing an arms race in outer space, and this includes preventing the creation of a space-based ABM system. Here we have an organic, unbreakable interconnection of these issues. And this was once again very clearly and firmly reiterated in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of February 28.

Progress in resolving questions concerning medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and, more generally, the achievement of a nuclear-free world depends on the conclusions that are drawn in Washington from past experience and the present situation. In other words, this advance depends on whether at last Washington heeds the voice of reason. ■

# Two approaches

## Comments on the Chirac visit

Soviet-French cooperation today faces one of its most difficult tests ever—the test that will decide its future. That is how Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov summed up the significance and special features of the relations between the two countries at the present stage.

In this context, the visit of the French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to the U.S.S.R. was an important event. It was his first since the victory of the right in the 1986 elections.

In Moscow Mr Chirac was received as befitted the head of government of a country relations with which Soviet people had for a long time regarded as an important component of European and world politics. The fact that the French Premier was received by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev was of special significance. Their detailed talks covered Soviet-French relations, as well as key issues of security and disarmament in Europe in the new situation arising out of the Soviet initiatives aimed at the complete elimination of medium-range missiles from the European continent.

The exchange of views confirmed that two contradictory trends are in constant conflict in France's policy with regard to the U.S.S.R.: the realistic trend that takes into account the role and significance of Soviet-French dialogue, and an unfriendly trend based on prejudice and obsolete ideas. There are also times when the interests of domestic policies affect the approach of French ruling circles. It should be remembered that preparations are already under way in France for Presidential elections, and Mr Chirac will probably be one of the leading candidates of the right.

As for the Soviet approach, it is free of all seasonal fluctuations. In this country France is regarded as an equal partner with which the Soviet Union has had wide-ranging and fruitful contacts since the time of General de Gaulle. During the talks with Mr Chirac Moscow again expressed its readiness to engage in constructive cooperation with Paris, both on a bilateral basis and in the world arena, with a view to consolidating détente and peace in Europe and elsewhere, and resolving the problems facing mankind.

The main issue around which the Moscow talks revolved was disarmament and ridding the continent of nuclear weapons. On this basic problem the French Premier still clings to the concepts of nuclear deterrence and the balance of terror. He repeatedly stated his credo, which is rooted in the cult of nuclear weapons, and on the eve of his visit to Moscow did all he could to counter the Soviet initiatives on nuclear disarmament with a joint Western stand. But despite all his efforts, the differences between Western countries made it impossible for him to act as spokesman for a common Atlantic position.

France must of course decide for itself what contribution it can make towards resolving the problems of security and disarmament, and what its attitude should be to the process of nuclear disarmament. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the French ruling circles' negative attitude to Soviet initiatives could delay progress towards a safer nuclear-free world.

Speaking in the Kremlin, Mr Chirac recalled that twice in this century our countries had fought shoulder to shoulder. Many Soviet and French soldiers gave their lives in the common struggle against nazism.

Today our nations again face a common enemy, and a far more horrifying one than German nazism. This enemy is nuclear war. That is why we are urging France and other countries to join forces with us to remove the nuclear threat and create a favourable climate for, initially, a reduction in nuclear weapons, and then their complete abolition.

Unfortunately, at this crucial stage certain difficulties have arisen between the two countries, responsibility for which falls on the opponents of Soviet-French friendship in France.

In Moscow Mr Chirac was told bluntly that the Soviet public is disturbed and surprised by the anti-Soviet actions that have seemed to follow in rapid succession. As Nikolai Ryzhkov noted, the Soviet people fail to understand why it has suddenly become the fashion in France—a country whose people we wish only well—to take unfriendly actions against our country and its representatives.

Ruling circles in Paris like to talk about human rights. Nor did Mr Chirac fail repeatedly to touch on the subject. But is it not these same circles that are pursuing a policy that has deprived almost 3 million French people of the fundamental human right to work? Is it not the French authorities that are persecuting trade union activists, and clamping down on large-scale youth demonstrations? Is it not French justice that has still not withdrawn the totally groundless charges against the Soviet citizen, Lyudmila Variguina?

Under present circumstances it is important that the French side display loyalty, the wish to restore friendliness to bilateral relations and impart fresh impetus to them. The restructuring now under way in the Soviet Union, of which Mr Chirac learned in detail during his talks in the Kremlin, as well as the new Soviet initiatives on many international issues, open up hitherto unheard-of possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet-French talks have shown that on a number of major issues Soviet and French views coincide: the development of the European process in the spirit of the Helsinki accords, enhancing Europe's role in international affairs, preventing the militarization of space, abiding by the ABM treaty, and a Middle East settlement.

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation featured prominently at the Moscow talks. Both sides expressed concern at the reduced level of trade between the two countries.

What stands in the way of wider economic and trade exchanges? First of all, the various restrictions and obstacles introduced by France under pressure from the U.S. and NATO on the Soviet Union's purchasing of equipment in France. In recent years Paris has added considerably to the list of equipment and machines that are considered strategic goods. The absence of a credit agreement has also hampered economic ties. The new protocol signed during Mr Chirac's visit on the general terms of credits for the Soviet purchase of equipment and machines in France from 1987 to 1990 removes obstacles and provides a basis for the conclusion of new contracts.

Balanced trade is also hindered by the discriminatory quotas existing in France on the import of certain Soviet goods.

The Soviet-French talks in Moscow were frank and useful. They produced a better understanding between the two sides and have made it possible to extend the dialogue.

Past experience of Soviet-French cooperation shows that difficulties are overcome if both sides give priority to European and worldwide interests. Time will tell whether Paris decides to adopt such an approach.

**EDUARD ARSENYEV**

INDIA

# Punjab again

● THIS TRADITIONAL JOURNALISTIC RETURN TO A FAMILIAR THEME IS BOTH APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE TO DESCRIBE THE RECENT TURMOIL IN PUNJAB.

It is appropriate because India's 750 million people and her friends abroad are again dismayed by news of abortive attempts to settle the situation in this strategically important northwestern state bordering on Pakistan.

On the other hand, it is inappropriate because the current transitional solution for developments there came as no surprise to most observers.

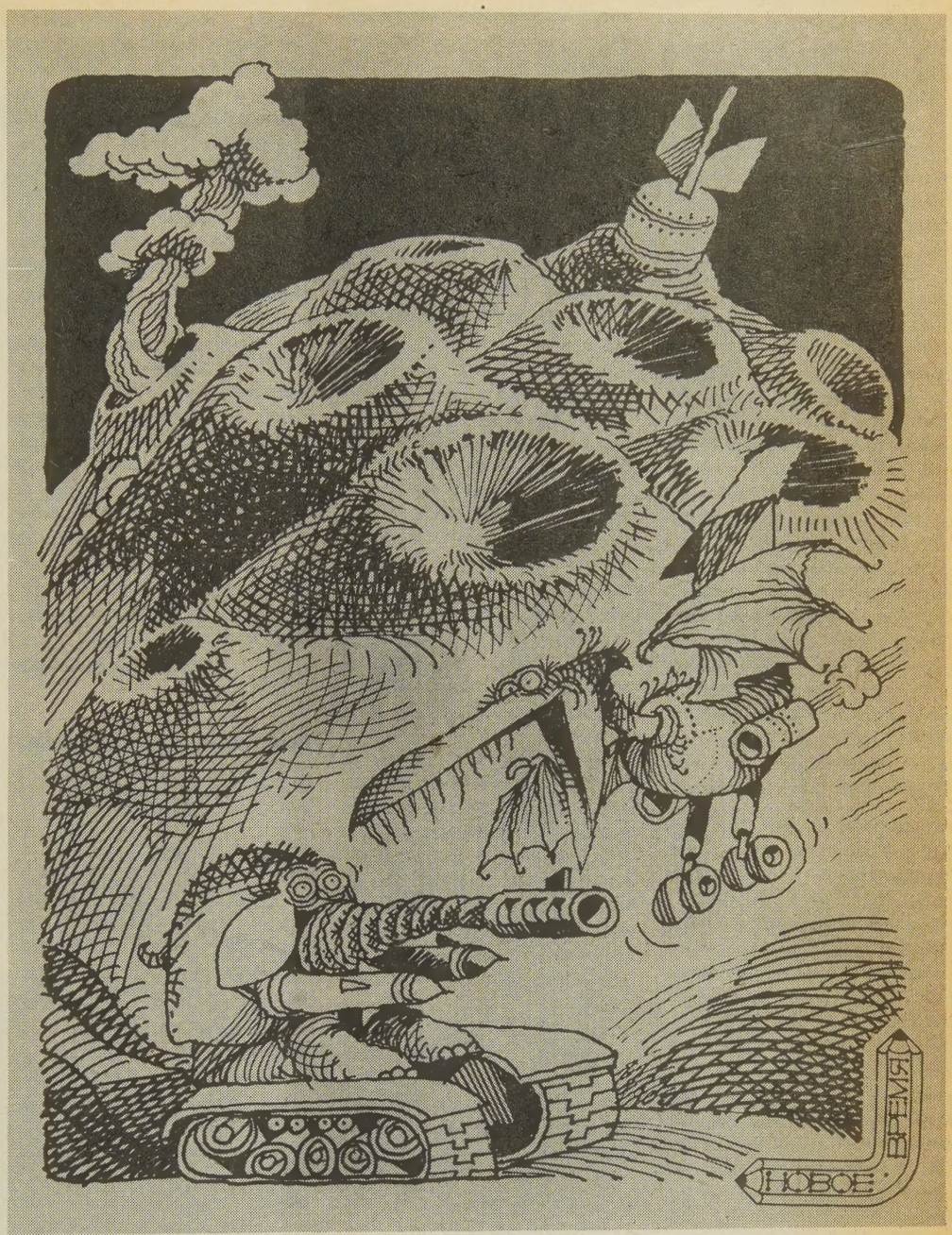
Presidential rule was again introduced in Punjab on May 11. This meant the dissolution of the government, the suspension of the legislative assembly and the assumption of all powers by the central government in Delhi. The crucial thing now is to ensure security and law and order.

The government formed by the Akali Dal Party functioned for only 20 months. In the autumn of 1985 the party, which represents the interests of the 18-million-strong Sikh religious community—10 million live in Punjab, which has a total population of 17 million—won the elections to the legislative assembly, which along with the state government had been dissolved two years earlier. Presidential rule was then introduced to cope with the crisis provoked by Sikh extremists who had gone so far as to call for an "independent state of Khalistan."

The Indian public had hoped Surjit Singh Barnala's state government would be consistent in upholding Indian national unity. Torn by internal conflict, however, it shilly-shallied in moves against the extremists. The urge for that illusory "consensus" between the popular majority and the extremists, and the unsettled nature of a range of socio-economic issues, transformed the state, which supplied much of the country's agricultural wealth, into a breeding ground of quite a different order. Terrorist groups of religious fanatics mushroomed and secessionist action gathered momentum.

In the upshot, chaos and anarchy became rife in most districts. Bombings frightened people away from cinemas and shrines. Extremist thugs menaced peasants in the fields. Students stopped attending lectures at the universities, which the terrorists had made their strongholds. Housewives no longer shopped at markets, which were consistently raided by looters and marauders. In several rural areas police were paralyzed. Some members of the state government collaborated with the extremists.

Nonetheless, Punjab's Brownian movement had what



**"Apparently before us it was inhabited by homo sapiens. Funny—they couldn't even survive a small nuclear explosion."**

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

could be termed a very specific vector, spearheaded against India's unity and territorial integrity.

To keep face, the Washington administration disavowed the Sikh secessionists. Then late last year a book appeared in the U.S. under the title "Who Killed Indira Gandhi?" The author was Lyndon LaRouche, the notorious leader of the American branch of the European Working Party, an extremist right-wing grouping. All the more eloquent, therefore, are the revelations he involuntarily, makes. He claims that U.S. research centres closely associated with the Washington administration are drafting strategic plans for the "Khalistanis" and that some Pentagon subsections are furnishing the extremists with intelligence, while the arch-reactionary Heritage Foundation and the Ku Klux Klan are subsidizing the "Khalistanis" through various front organizations.

Incidentally, the Ku Klux Klan must have spoken for Washington politicians when in a letter to a Sikh secessionist grouping—of which the Indian PTI agency managed to secure a copy—it said that as it was against Communists, it would back the Sikh liberation movement. Many here share this view as Sikh secessionists have announced that "Khalistan" will be an anti-communist buffer state and a friend of the U.S. At any rate, Indian Communists, who with other patriotic and democratic elements advocate national unity, have been made targets for terrorist attacks in Punjab. Over the last two years alone 17 prominent leaders of local branches of India's two Communist parties have been killed.

That seems a clear indication of the source of the "Khalistan vector."

**LEONID ZHEGALOV**
our own correspondent
Delhi

ITALY

## Election campaign on

● IN ITALY CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRE-TERM GENERAL ELECTION, TO BE HELD ON JUNE 14, HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY INAUGURATED.

Why the early election? The reasons include the 56-day-long government crisis that the news media have dubbed "the theatre of the absurd," the complete collapse of the five-party coalition, made up of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals, the creation of the one-party Christian Democrat cabinet, which, as was to be expected, failed to secure a parliamentary vote of confidence, and finally, the premature dissolution of parliament, the fifth in the past 15 years.

Everybody and nobody is to "blame" for the power vacuum. The Milan-based Corriere della Sera sarcastically observes in this connection that the political parties are merely seeking a new mandate to govern, and not to offer the electorate political concepts or varied platforms.

This attitude to the impending election can be seen especially clearly in the feuding between the Socialists and the Christian Democrats. Having failed to reach agreement on the alternation of the premiership during the so-called "relay period," they have made the coalition question the key issue in the campaign. As this is reminiscent of a squaring of accounts one can be forgiven for thinking that the two parties will never partner each other again. However, a closer look reveals a common thread with each of the two parties, namely, accusing the other of seeking to ally itself with the Communists.

Meanwhile businessmen would like to revive the five-party formula—as was unambiguously observed by Fiat president Giovanni Agnelli.

The election results will reveal voters' preferences. All that is clear today is that the Communists are the only party with a programme that can unite the efforts of all democratic forces to cope with the problems facing the country.

The Communists seek to reform the political institutions and offer a well-thought-out strategy for the country's socio-economic advancement.

"Though the election campaign is under way, Italy's approach to the 'zero option,' must be clarified," Giorgio Napolitano of the Communist Party leadership told voters in Comiso, Sicily, which is close to a U.S. cruise missile base. "The deliverance of Europe generally, and Italy in particular, from nuclear missiles would enhance rather than weaken security."

**PAVEL NEGOITSA**
Rome

PERSIAN GULF

## "Tanker war"

● EVENTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA, WHICH THE WESTERN MEDIA CALL THE "TANKER WAR," ARE CAUSING GROWING ALARM.

The "war" started on May 21, 1981, with the sinking of a tanker flying the Panamanian flag—after which the epithet "tanker war" came into use. Ever since, Iraqi and Iranian naval and air forces have attacked tankers and freighters. Now and then they forced these ships to enter their ports, where cargoes considered to be "of military importance" were sequestered. Early this month the Kuwait News Agency reported that an Iranian naval cutter had attacked and damaged the Soviet ship Ivan Koroteyev. Describing the incident as a dangerous escalation of the "tanker war," the news agency noted that "far more tankers are attacked in the Persian Gulf." A few figures to illustrate this perilous escalation: whereas 45 ships were attacked, between May 1981 and 1983, in 1984 alone 67 "major targets" were attacked, causing 40 deaths, in 1985, 83 ships were attacked, and in 1986, 105 vessels were fired upon, causing 88 deaths. Between January 1 and May 7 this year a total of 34 tankers and freighters were attacked.

In the night of May 17 the Soviet tanker Marshal Chuikov, hit a mine as it approached the Kuwaiti port of Mina al-Ahmadi. There were no casualties. That same night, according to Pentagon, an Iraqi plane fired Exocet missiles at the U.S. naval frigate Stark.

So far there is no hope that the tragic events in the Persian Gulf will stop here. On the contrary, U.S. militarists are now energetically exploiting the situation to find a long-awaited excuse for entrenching their military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, and straddling the Strait of Hormuz and other international sea lanes in the region. The pretext they have now found is "to guarantee the freedom of shipping" in the region and uphold international, and U.S. "national interests." Early last month U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger ordered U.S. naval forces to increase their presence near the Persian Gulf in order to guarantee President Reagan's promise to ensure hitch-free oil deliveries to the U.S.A.'s European allies and Japan. It was decided permanently to maintain an aircraft-carrying squadron of warships in the region.

For this reason it is now vital to take the most vigorous measures to end the insane Iran-Iraq war, which only serves to further the interests of the enemies of peace. It is well known that the Soviet Union has not only advocated the elimination of this hotbed of tension, but has also offered to mediate. The Soviet Union does not seek to reap any advantages thereby. Though the U.S.S.R. does have interests with regard to the Persian Gulf, they are in complete accord with the interests of the peoples living on its littoral.

**EVGENY KORSHUNOV**

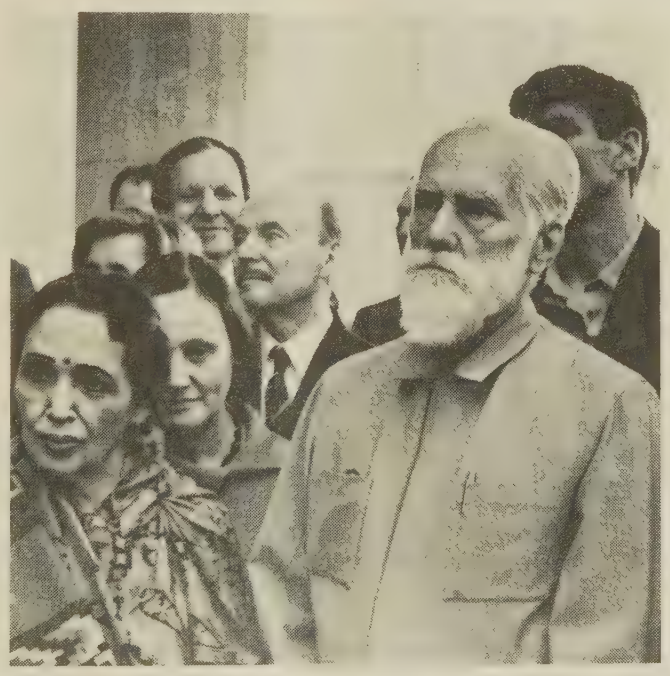
# Svyatoslav Roerich's art: a merger of the Indian and Russian idioms

**Tatgunni estate lies on the old Mysore Road some 20 kilometres from Bangalore, capital of the Indian state of Karnatak. Svyastoslav Roerich, the well-known artist and public figure, Honorary Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Arts and winner of the Jawaharlal Nehru Prize awarded him for his signal contribution to Soviet-Indian friendship and cultural cooperation, lives here in a small, century-old wooden house whose doors are always hospitably open to Soviet visitors.**

Svyatoslav Roerich is the son of Nikolai Roerich, the artist, philosopher, scholar and traveller, who featured prominently in 20th century world culture. He was one of the initiators of the movement to protect mankind's cultural values and always championed Indo-Russian friendship. Today Svyatoslav is successfully carrying on his father's tradition.

Artistically, Svyatoslav was unquestionably profoundly influenced by his father and his world outlook. On the other hand, his work reveals a deep knowledge of ancient and medieval Indian art, such as the murals in the Ajanta Caves and Mogul miniatures. He has developed a highly original style of his own, which is a creative development of the great traditions of the two cultures, Russian and Indian. One of his admirers, the Indian diplomat Krishna Menon, pointed this out when he observed that the two worlds—of India and of Russia—have come together in Svyatoslav's art, as the artist belongs to both cultures. Svyatoslav Roerich's paintings, he said, are a beautiful and inspired amalgam of his heritage and his environment, and are profoundly imbued with the ideas of the two countries.

Svyatoslav Roerich has lost nothing today of his consistent urge to convey in imagery and colour the profound significance of life and his understanding of man's inner world. "Whenever I do a portrait," he says, "I am chiefly interested in the sitter's character." His gallery of portraits of politicians, men of letters, composers, dancers, actors and film makers includes not only his parents, but also Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, and his wife and enthusiastic helper, the Indian film actress Devika Rani-Roerich.



In his landscapes, he has reflected India's natural scenery in all its variety, from the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas, to the fertile plains of the southern seaboard. The spiritual life, customs and mores of India's peoples are mirrored in numerous genre pictures and symbolical pieces, such as "We Are Working," "Holy Flute," "Springtime," "Red Soil" and "Eternal Life." Attracted to the lives of the ordinary people of India, its peasants, fishermen, weavers, potters and dyers, whose hands create the nation's wealth, he has produced such paintings as "Daughters of the Sea," "These Colours Must Not Fade," and "Moulding Clay into Shape." All his work is distinguished by bold composition, astounding pictorial qualities, and luminescence.

He also has canvases that reveal his unbreakable unity with the peace movement. Among them are "Crucified Mankind," a triptych, and his famous "You Must Not See This Flame" which depicts a mother covering her child's eyes to protect him from the sight of skyscrapers melting in the blazing inferno and civilization going to pieces. The picture serves as a stern warning to madmen who are playing with the fate of the human race. In terms of its inner meaning, it has much in common with "Armageddon," the picture his father painted on the eve of the second world war.

Svyatoslav Roerich always links his aspirations for peace and the good of humanity with ever greater friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and India. "I have always considered assiduous self-perfection to be my main purpose in life in order to become a better person and convey perfect and wide-ranging ideas which can help mankind and make life happier," he says. "It is my conviction that one day humanity will realize the need to integrate and not divide, to unite its finest qualities for the common good. The main thing today is to turn from the pursuit of arms buildup to the pooling of all the resources squandered for military purposes and using them for the good of the nations—help to eradicate backwardness, disease and poverty. Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation is a great boon of major importance not only for the two countries concerned, but also for their neighbours and all of humanity. We comprise 1,000 million of the world's population, an immense human force that could play a decisive part in preserving peace on earth."

He is in constant contact with Soviet artistic circles. He and his wife have visited the U.S.S.R. more than once. Last month they again came to Moscow at the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Arts. While here they had a friendly meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Warmly welcoming the artist, the Soviet leader noted the services of the family, and Nikolai Roerich in particular, in promoting cultural relations between the two countries, and noted Svyatoslav Roerich's own invaluable contribution to broader Indo-Soviet cultural cooperation.

**OLEG TORCHINSKY**

TASS photo

# The Jaruzelski plan

## A new Polish initiative

BOGUMIL RYCHLOWSKI, Polish journalist

People's Poland has been working steadily for many years to help consolidate peace in Europe and build a reliable system of security that would promote all-round cooperation between the European nations.

In our opinion, there is a need for vigorous action not only on an all-European scale, but also concerning individual parts of Europe. This is why Poland has long been giving special attention to problems relating to the strengthening of peace and security in Central Europe, where the danger of the arms race and any destabilization of the balance of forces erupting into a conflict is especially great. In other words, Central Europe is the most potentially dangerous point in the modern world. It is here that the line of demarcation between the two opposing socio-economic systems and the two military-political blocs—Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO—passes. It is here that the concentration of armed forces and armaments is the highest, and that East-West contradictions are at their most acute. Europe's overall "state of health" depends on the situation in this part of the continent.

The situation on the continent as a whole will not get back to normal for as long as nuclear and conventional arms stockpiles continue to grow in its centre. Poland has repeatedly come up with proposals for reducing them. Such Polish initiatives as the suggestion that Central Europe should be atom-free (Rapacki Plan, 1957) and that the nuclear and conventional arms deployed there be frozen (Gomulka Plan, 1963) met with great interest and recognition in the international arena. Although these ideas only provided for a partial solution of the problem and were not accepted, they have left fond memories and contributed to peaceful developments in the region.

Aware of the danger with which the present arms level on the continent is fraught and proceeding from the principle that complex international problems should be tackled first at regional level, Poland has drafted a new comprehensive plan for arms reduction and confidence building in Central Europe. On May 8, 1987, the draft was set out by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council.

The draft provides for:

— the gradual withdrawal, and reduction of operational-tactical nuclear weapons mutually agreed upon (it is presumed that the appropriate negotiations would cover all kinds of such weapon);

— the gradual withdrawal, and reduction of conventional weapons mutually agreed upon, primarily those of the greatest destructive power and accuracy and capable of being used in a surprise attack;

— changing the character of military doctrines to the point where they could be mutually recognized as purely defensive;

— going beyond the security and confidence-building measures agreed upon in Stockholm as well as using efficient national and international verification facilities, including extensive observation and on-the-spot inspection.

This plan applies to a zone comprising the territories of nine states:

# An idea for the United Nations

**Soviet and foreign journalists were briefed in Moscow on the results of the conference of deputy foreign ministers of socialist countries, which proposed that the idea of establishing an all-embracing international peace and security system be submitted for discussion to the U.N.**

The wide-ranging discussion now in progress between various states centres on an idea fundamental to the new political thinking, that of guaranteeing international security by political means. Ways are being sought to replace nuclear with political and legal deterrence. It is now imperative to set up a worldwide security structure in a non-violent and demilitarized world, and make the U.N. an effective political mechanism for preventing wars.

"The timeliness and importance of this initiative are obvious. The world community rejects nuclear war and violence in general," said Vladimir Petrovsky, U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, as he opened the briefing. "Today there is only one way to guarantee security, and that is political; the security of each state is inconceivable outside the context of universal security. This is realized the world over. At the same time, this position is meeting with stubborn resistance on the part of those accustomed to thinking in terms of military force and strong-arm tactics. Foreign policy makers should radically revise their outlook, and the political behaviour of states should be brought into conformity with nuclear and space realities.

"The socialist countries are insisting that, discussing this question, the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session advise all its agencies to examine the problems brought before them from the standpoint of comprehensive security for all. We proceed from the premise that the discussion of the problems involved in the formation and functioning of a system guaranteeing equal security to all should stimulate the establishment of such a system. This matter brooks no delay. We must not miss the historic chance of eliminating whole categories of nuclear weapons—medium-range and tactical missiles—from Europe. And it is high time chemical weapons were banned and abolished all over the planet."

"Although the initiative came from socialist states members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization," said Gyula Horn,

the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the F.R.G., Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Denmark.

The current Polish initiative involves more countries than its previous disarmament proposals and is more varied geographically. The Jaruzelski Plan (as it is already referred to in the press) can ultimately be extended to the rest of Europe, all the way from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Obviously, this plan can be carried out only given constructive actions by the two biggest powers—the Soviet Union and the United States, whose military presence in the region is greatest.

The draft merely outlines the objectives and directions for action. Its authors avoid any particulars, which testifies to the deliberate openness of the initiative. This approach rests on the conviction that confidence and sincerity in international relations should derive from mutual cooperation. If the fundamental provisions of the plan are approved, the specific questions can be discussed in the process of bilateral and multilateral consultations.

The new Polish initiative is organically connected with the entire complex of disarmament proposals put forward by socialist countries. It answers the urgent demands of our time and largely accords with the constructive stand taken by those in the West who, worried by the dangerous tendencies emerging in international relations today, are looking for likely spheres of accord and cooperation.

Warsaw

**"NO!"—Poster by Polish artist Tadeusz Trepkowski.**

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, "its aim is to overstep the confines of the blocs, to win support in all countries. In implementing it, we shall of course accept any constructive proposals from any state, and shall have to harmonize the interests of individual countries with such global human problems as ending the arms race, carrying out peaceful space research, establishing a just economic order, and fighting international terrorism. Underlying our concept is the desire to enlist more extensive cooperation from the United Nations in a real effort to promote new international relations."

Participants in the briefing answered newsmen's questions about the world's response to the joint initiative displayed by socialist countries, and the prospects for its passage through the U.N. Bernhard Neugebauer, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the G.D.R., informed the meeting that the G.D.R.'s representatives abroad had reported a very positive reaction to this initiative. It was evoking a great deal of interest in Latin American and Afro-Asian countries, and although they stressed the problems relating to economic development and the establishment of a new international economic order, it was already clear that before the central political issues are resolved, all the others will be beyond solution. The G.D.R. is holding consultations with Western states as well. The Canadian Minister of State (External Relations) has recently visited Berlin. The frank and businesslike exchange of views that took place there showed that our joint initiative was having wide repercussions in the West.

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria," said Lyuben Gotsev, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, "is taking an active part in working out and implementing the ideas pertaining to international security. We regard the world public's reaction to our initiative as, on the whole, positive, although there are instances of vacillation and misunderstanding. We shall therefore persistently carry on with a view to obtaining more concrete results by the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session."

"The consultations the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has held with a number of states in Western Europe, North and Latin America and other regions," said Stefan Murin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, "suggest that our proposal has evoked great interest and is already being given serious consideration. This confirms the vital need for all-embracing international peace and security system. We intend to do much to explain our initiative, especially through the mass media, which support it."

■

# The last getaway

It is not by any means the first time he has run away. SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Klaus Barbie left the scene of his crimes with the last train, when allied troops and French Resistance fighters were approaching Lyons. In April 1945, Barbie disappeared from Dortmund, his last posting. Six years later American agent Barbie was forced to flee again—from the F.R.G. to Latin America, as his new masters had tired of hiding the criminal from French justice. When he was tracked down in Lima, Señor Klaus Altmann (the hangman's new name) fled to Bolivia, which then seemed a safer place. But, as it turned out, it was not his final flight....

When the third day of the Lyons trial began, nothing seemed to suggest there would be any surprises. The session opened. The defendant was brought in. A police officer removed his handcuffs, and Barbie sat down next to interpreters behind the bulletproof screen. Presiding judge André Cerdini continued the interrogation begun the previous day.

Suddenly Barbie picked up a sheet of paper and announced that he wanted to make a statement. Cerdini attached no special significance to this request, although under French law the defendant is not allowed to read out texts prepared in advance. In a loud voice Barbie declared that he was being kept in Lyons illegally, that he had been "kidnapped," and that he therefore refused to attend any further court sessions and was leaving it to his defence counsel to conduct his case. He demanded that he be taken back immediately to prison. Indeed, in general he regarded himself as a "hostage of the French authorities." This blasphemy was read out in 1987 in the city of Lyons, where during the nazi occupation 3,674 hostages had been executed!

For a moment stunned silence reigned in the chamber. The first to recover were the lawyers representing civil plaintiffs, and the state prosecutor. Their indignant protests were greeted with applause from the public gallery. The presiding judge cut short the cries of approval and threatened to clear the courtroom. The hearing was interrupted and after the recess it was announced that under the criminal code the defendant was entitled to refuse to attend the hearings. It is true that under Article 320 he can be brought in by force. However, this (with the prosecutor's consent) was deemed to be "unacceptable."

As soon as the judges left, the hall hummed once more with everybody voicing their views. These differed. Some saw it as an astute move on the part of defence counsel Jacques Vergès, a man known for his self-publicity, who has now become a central figure in the court proceedings. Others saw it as a principle of French democracy which gives even such a person every right—including that of leaving the courtroom. Former Resistance fighters objected. They asked how the gravediggers of democracy could be allowed democratic rights?

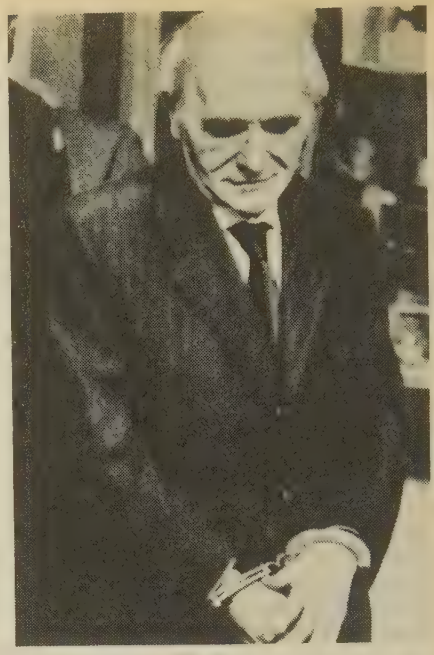
"So what does the new situation mean?" I asked President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers Joe Nordmann.

"Klaus Barbie is trying to hide from his own past," Nordmann replied. "He knows that he has no answer to the harsh questions that could be put to him. The time for these questions was drawing near, for he had already heard the long list of people to be called as witnesses. He would have had to face those whom he had tortured and sent to their deaths. And so he chose to run away—even though his flight ends in a prison cell.

"There was also another reason," Nordmann continued. "In the first three days Barbie had already twice resorted to his ridiculous allegation that he had 'been kidnapped in Bolivia.' However, he was aware that one of the witnesses called by the court was the former Bolivian Minister of the Interior Gustavo Sanchez Salazar, the man who executed the government's lawful decision to deport the criminal."

Indeed, at the beginning of the third session the presiding judge had named two witnesses—Gustavo Sanchez Salazar and a man whom Barbie had no less reason to fear, the American Professor Erhard Dabringhaus, who in postwar years directed his activities as an American agent. Sanchez and Dabringhaus stood up and were led away to a special room to wait to be called to the witness box. The next day Sanchez, under oath, explained the Bolivian government's actions in detail, showing that they conformed fully to the norms of international law dealing with war criminals.

Nordmann takes the view that Barbie set out to create a sensation at the trial in order to reduce its impact, and prevent the emotional scenes that would have been inevitable when he was confronted with his victims. He wanted to undermine the trial, trying to play on views that are not confined exclusively to France: why torture an old man? He is no longer the same Barbie....



**Barbie—unregenerate.**

AP—TASS photo

"No!" concluded the lawyer. "He is the same unrepentant Barbie whose entire life has been a crime against people and humanity."

Those who, like Barbie, hoped to stop the trial had miscalculated. On the next day, the fourth of the trial, two men appeared in the witness box—Sanchez and Dabringhaus. They differ in political views and temperament. The passionate indictment of the fighter for Bolivian democracy Sanchez had a ring different from the ironic comments of the American intelligence officer. But in essence their testimony coincided: they described to the court—and therefore also to the international public—the sinister thread linking the crimes committed in Lyons and those of Barbie's postwar career.

When the session ended I asked Gustavo Sanchez Salazar how the butcher had behaved when he was being deported.

"At first he was arrogantly insolent, and then he was scared. As scared as he is today when he is faced with the truth."

Barbie has fled the courtroom, but the trial continues.

**LEV BEZYMENSKY**
**our special correspondent**

Lyons, May 19

# Who stands to gain

BORIS PILYATSKIN

The game warden at the camping site not far from the Botswana settlement of Mohembo offered me his binoculars and pointed towards the river Okavango, which is not very wide at that point and therefore barely discernible. "Over there," he said.

In the limited field visible through the glasses I saw an unpopulated strip of land with the tops of acacias showing the first yellow of autumn, and the prickly bushes; it was an ordinary picture of the African savannah. But I looked and looked, trying to impress every little detail on my memory. For that land was Namibia, unlawfully usurped by South Africa.

The South African racists resort to refined cruelty in their attempts to suppress the national liberation struggle of the one and a half million Namibians under the leadership of the patriotic South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO). They have built up a smoothly-running system for plundering the country's mineral wealth. No less determined are their efforts to build an impenetrable wall around Namibia, so that the world should know nothing of what is happening there.

"How is this achieved in practice?" SWAPO's secretary for foreign affairs Theo-Ben Gurirab repeated my question.

We were talking in the hall of the Jose de San Martin Cultural Centre in Buenos Aires during one of the breaks in the international seminar called at the end of April by the U.N. Council for Namibia. Theo-Ben Gurirab unfolded a map on which I was able to identify numerous small circles and straight lines designating South African military bases and the so-called security zones.

"There are more than 100 South African military bases and six off-limits zones in Namibia," said Gurirab. "No foreign journalist can enter them without a special pass issued by the occupiers. And the bases and zones cover more than half the territory of Namibia."

In Ancient Rome, when lawyers investigated a crime, the first question they asked was "Who stands to gain from it." In the case of Namibia there can be only one answer: the conspiracy of silence clearly benefits South Africa, allowing it as it does to pursue a policy of genocide against the Namibians, who refuse to bow to its authority. But keeping the facts secret also suits the Western patrons of apartheid. Take Rössing Uranium Ltd., for example. This transnational corporation was founded in 1970 to mine Namibian uranium—more than 5,000 tons a year. Who buys the strategic raw material?

**SWAPO supporters demonstrating in Namibia.**

The list of buyers is of course kept strictly secret. Only Britain has openly acknowledged that it imports uranium from Namibia. Pretoria is thereby promoting the nuclear arms race in countries with which it has close economic ties. It is common knowledge that the South African militarists are stepping up efforts to create a nuclear potential of their own. In this they are aided not only by "Rössing," but by other multinational corporations as well. More than 200 Western companies operate in Namibia. They are engaged in the mining of manganese, diamonds, zinc ore and gold, tin and vanadium.

They are all regarded as international robbers. And there are legal grounds for this. Twenty years ago—on May 19, 1967—the United Nations set up a Council for Namibia as the legitimate body responsible for governing the country until it achieved independence. Its first decree proclaimed that no person or body, whether juridical or not, has the right to search for, develop, extract, sell, export, or distribute any natural resources, whether animal or mineral, within, or known to be within, the territorial boundaries of Namibia without the consent and permission of the U.N. Council for Namibia.

This would seem absolutely clear. However, the monopolies that have established themselves in Namibia are participating in the collective plunder of the country and promoting Namibia's occupation by the apartheid regime. They have aligned themselves with those who are suppressing the armed national liberation struggle SWAPO has been waging for almost 21 years.

The SWAPO delegation at the seminar in Buenos Aires provided an objective and realistic picture of the situation in the country. In view of the overwhelming numerical superiority of South African forces equipped with modern arms and other military hardware (there is one soldier for every 12 Namibians!), SWAPO is hardly in a position to liberate the country completely. Nor, on the other hand, can Pretoria achieve a military victory over the freedom fighters.

The South African racists are relying on a policy of terror and toughening their occupation regime, while at the same time quietly preparing for "the unilateral declaration of Namibia's independence." They want to confront the world with an accomplished fact, as Ian Smith tried to do in Southern Rhodesia. An "interim government" has been formed from collaborators in Windhoek, and ersatz elections are being prepared. The purpose of these preparations is self-evident: to remove SWAPO—the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people and recognized as such by the United Nations—from the political arena and in this way set up a puppet state whose fictitious independence would give Western and South African monopolies free rein.

A peaceful solution to the problem is possible. In 1976 and 1978 the Security Council adopted resolutions 385 and 435. In effect, they offer a blueprint for holding free elections in Namibia in the presence of U.N. observers, the withdrawal of all South African troops and the unconditional proclamation of the country's independence. SWAPO gave its full backing to this plan and expressed readiness to take part in implementing it.

The years, however, are passing but the U.N. decision of crucial importance to Namibia remains a scrap of paper. Why?

The advent of the Reagan administration in Washington provided the South African regime with a life-belt, in the form of the notorious policy of linkage, or to be more precise, the ultimatum issued by Washington and Pretoria to the United Nations, whereby, before any transition of power in Namibia, Cuban forces had to be withdrawn from Angola. The Cuban internationalist forces, it will be remembered, arrived in Angola at the express request of the Angolan government, when the young African republic was having to fight off South African armed intervention.

The Cubans have remained in Angola under an agreement concluded between the two friendly countries and are helping Angola's armed forces to combat the UNITA mercenaries in the pay of the South African and U.S. special services. When the U.N. adopted resolutions 385 and 435, neither Washington nor its South African partner put forward any stipulations. The linkage clause was devised under President Reagan's administration in order to block any solution to the Namibian problem and preserve a dangerous seat of tension in the southern part of Africa.

There does, however, exist a way of forcing Pretoria to implement the U.N. decision to withdraw from Namibia and give it independence. This can be done by introducing comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. The first time voices in favour of such sanctions were raised in the U.N. more than a quarter of a century ago. Since then the isolation of the apartheid regime has become more noticeable. Even the seminar held in the Argentine capital bears this out. Only a few years ago it would have been impossible to hold it in Buenos Aires, for the Argentine junta then in power regarded South Africa as one of its best friends. The government of President Raul Alfonsin shut down its embassy in Pretoria. Argentina officially condemned South Africa's apartheid policy and its unlawful occupation of Namibia. It was one of the non-aligned countries recently to insist in the Security Council on comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist state. This resolution was not adopted as a result of the veto (one of many) imposed by the United States and Britain.

"Sanctions," the President of the U.N. Council for Namibia Peter Zuze of Zambia told me, "would have had a considerable psychological impact. They would have dealt apartheid a telling blow. But Washington is against sanctions, asserting that American policy opposes in principle the concept of economic pressure on other countries. This is pure hypocrisy to say the least. What about the U.S. boycott of Poland and Nicaragua? That clearly shows how widely the United States uses economic pressure. But not when it concerns South Africa. Moreover, Washington will resort to any pretext not to hurt its protégé. Meanwhile the racists are becoming increasingly brazen..."

The statements made by President Botha and his coterie after the May elections to the white chamber of parliament indicate that Pretoria intends to step up its policy of repression of the African majority. Much the same can be expected in Namibia, as well as the escalation of Pretoria's military provocations against Angola and the other frontline states.

As for the West, it looks as if it not only has no intention of paying the long overdue Namibian bill, but is moving in the opposite direction: encouraging the racists to drag out the granting of independence to Namibia. It would be appropriate to recall the urgent need to resolve this problem in connection with Africa Liberation Day (May 25) and the Week of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Peoples of Southern Africa, which are being observed by friends of Africa the world over. ■

# Amnesty victims

Washington has proclaimed an amnesty for the thousands of illegal immigrants to the U.S. from Latin America. Now all who slipped into the citadel of the "free world" before 1982 can openly declare themselves at specially equipped naturalization centres and claim U.S. passports.

What a splendid example of U.S. democracy! But for some reason the Hispanics now settled in the territory of their northern neighbour are not rushing to the registration centres, nor are they in any way jubilant. They are worried about what will happen to their wives and children who joined them in the U.S. after the deadline, as these are not "amnestied"; on the contrary, they face deportation.

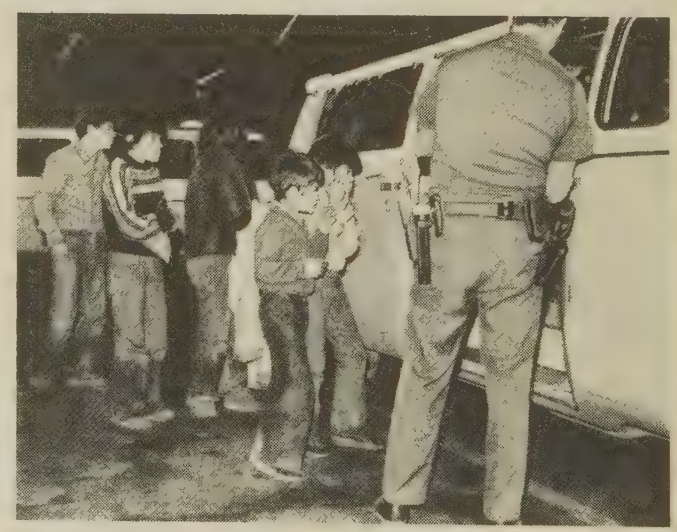
While touting the amnesty, the authorities accuse the Hispanics of sponging, contending that their arrival has aggravated the employment situation, exacerbated urban crises, and made heavy inroads into federal social spending. In fact, they do the unskilled manual jobs others are not prepared to accept. And furthermore, they are confined to ghettos.

Though the White House deplores what it considers the inordinate federal spending on maintaining immigrants, according to official statistics, the vast majority of Hispanics are outside the health and education services. Some U.S. economists claim that "illegals pay much more in taxes than the cost of the services they use."

Why do Latin Americans slip over the border despite the humiliation they are subjected to? Because living standards in the U.S. are much higher than in Latin America. Pay is also higher, with a Mexican labourer, for instance, earning in the space of an hour as much as he would in a day at home. Yet is the U.S., which has plundered Latin America, really entitled to grudge the poverty-stricken illegals their hard-earned dollars? After all many fled to the U.S. from Washington-backed dictatorships.

While it is beyond question that a state's frontier regulations are its own internal affair, one is constrained to ask why there is so much talk about the amnesty, why all this posturing as benefactors, if hundreds of thousands of "wetbacks" will only be doomed to further ordeals.

**YURI KUDIMOV**



**The amnesty does not extend to these boys, who are to be taken back to the Mexican border in a police van.**
From The Economist (Britain)

**On May 16, Lyudmila Variguina's sister and brother and a group of Yaroslavl people's deputies called on the French embassy in Moscow to hand over to Prime Minister Jacques Chirac of France, or to the ambassador a letter demanding that Lyudmila Variguina be allowed to return home. The embassy refused to accept the letter.**

# What did Mata Hari do at the Kourou cosmodrome?

The French authorities have started investigating the application filed by the lawyer of the Soviet citizen Lyudmila Variguina (Verdier) requesting an end to the legal proceedings instituted against her. The request is based on the grounds that there was no evidence whatsoever to prove her guilty of the "crime" she had been charged with. At present Lyudmila, a victim of defamation, is under police surveillance. She is not allowed beyond the limits of the Department of Seine-Maritime. Twice a week—every Tuesday and Friday—she undergoes the humiliating procedure of reporting to the Palace of Justice in Rouen.

She has been paying these visits for over a month now. And each time she asks what the charges against her are. If she is guilty of anything, when will the evidence be provided? The question is purely rhetorical. The developments in the Ariane case, sensationalized by the papers, have shown that no such evidence is forthcoming.

Let me remind you how it all started. On March 17, 1987, Rouen police detained, on charges of espionage, Lyudmila Pavlovna Variguina, who had come to France on January 17 to join her husband Pierre Verdier, a French citizen.

"It was a nightmare," says Lyudmila, "it was too awful for words. On March 16 my husband suddenly disappeared. I became worried and tried to find him. Late that night he telephoned me saying everything would be all right and was obviously trying to reassure me. He sounded unnatural, and I understood something was wrong. I felt he was speaking in somebody's presence. He called me again late at night on March 17. My anxiety grew. Early in the following morning four policemen broke into our flat and, without as much as a warrant, said I'd better hurry if I wanted to see my husband. They got me to the Rouen Central Police Commissariat and rudely cut short my attempts to get the Soviet embassy on the phone.

"In the commissariat," Lyudmila went on, "interrogation began at once and lasted till evening. There were four of them, one speaking German and serving as an interpreter. I speak almost no French, but studied German at the philological faculty of the Yaroslavl Teachers' Institute. I was utterly confused. They showered me with questions most of which had to do with my husband's activity. 'Only a frank confession will help clear the air,' I was told. I took their words on trust and told them about our life in minute detail. But when they tried to put a confession to espionage into my mouth, I protested vigorously because I had never engaged in anything of the kind."

**Happy couple Lyudmila Variguina and Pierre Verdier at their wedding.**
From Paris-Match (France)

Then they started intimidating Lyudmila. "By your stubbornness," they said, "you have signed your own verdict. Pierre Verdier has already talked. Your embassy has disowned you, and no one is going to help you. Even if we let you go, the KGB is waiting to get hold of you and banish you to Siberia, to the Gulag." They said this phrase in Russian.

Variguina was kept behind bars for over two weeks and released on April 2 only to be placed under police surveillance.

By now, three of "Mata Hari's accomplices" have been set free for lack of evidence, and the rest are still in custody to save the smart counterintelligence agents' faces. According to the Paris papers, the detainees are charged with trying to get the secrets of the French carrier rocket Ariane—the very rocket that, owing to technical reasons, has been defying all attempts to lift it off from Kourou cosmodrome in French Guiana for over a year.

Are there any facts to corroborate the allegations of Soviet espionage? None at all. Pierre Verdier, head of the Rouen branch of the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, simply had no access to any classified information, much less to that connected with space technology. The whole incident is the work of a certain Antoneta Manole who has thus taken revenge on an ex-lover for deserting her. For good measure, she has slandered four more men, including her husband.

The slanderous nature of the accusations levelled at Verdier is obvious, and borne out by letters (doubtless written by Manole) which Variguina and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Interior received at various times. The Soviet embassy has sent photostats of them to the French Foreign Ministry in the hope of putting things right and clearing Lyudmila.

But this wasn't what the organizers of the slanderous campaign wanted. Stories of a "Soviet lag" and the socialist countries' unceasing attempts to "steal" Western high-technology secrets are splashed over the front pages. And here is the expert opinion of Paris University Professor Jean-Pierre Kahane, a well-known mathematician. In an interview with L'Humanité he called the talk about Moscow spies hunting for the secrets of the French Ariane "ridiculous."

The Ariane row is dying down. Even sensation-seeking reporters are giving the affair up as a bad job. Why then all the malicious slander? The answer is simple enough. L'Humanité observes that all the "spy exposés" in France coincide with similar anti-Soviet campaigns in the U.S. Besides, Paris is finding it hard to come up with serious arguments against the latest Soviet proposals for the elimination of nuclear missiles in Europe, hence the kindling of mistrust and suspicion. A Moscow engaged in all-out espionage can hardly be serious about wanting peace, or so the French public is being led to believe.

**VICTOR KHREKOV**

Paris

# Of cabbages, kings and mules

"Just how deeply is the Soviet Union involved in narco-terrorism? A definite answer is impossible, but some Kremlin-watchers subscribe to the theory of a well-orchestrated, Soviet-inspired plot reaching back more than two decades to undermine the West with the help of narcotics." So begins a key U.S. News and World Report item accusing the U.S.S.R., Cuba and Nicaragua of profiting from narcotics and international terrorism.

The said magazine speaks airily of what it claims is being said in the Kremlin, of the confidences of Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders to their immediate associates. Such amazing knowledgeability will certainly surprise readers, especially the allusions to "well-informed sources," moreover, of a kind apparently inaccessible to the general run of newsmen. One is tempted to imagine a press service charitably furnishing the magazine with "authentic" quotes.

However, there is one thing on which we see eye to eye with the magazine's editors. To wit: the narcotics business has indeed powerful backing. That is an open secret. One does not need to look across the waters to find the backers. They are right next door. The magazine's veteran subscribers are well aware of this as at the time of the scandalous exposures of the CIA's nefarious activities, the U.S. News and World Report directly observed that it was profiting from the international drug traffic.

That was years ago, when U.S. aggression in Indochina had just begun.

Picture a plane landing in the jungle to bring in supplies of weapons and munitions for American mercenaries and taking aboard sacks of opium. This was done on a systematic basis. However, one day a newsman turned up on the spot and took a historic photograph. Painted on the silvery fuselage of the plane that was delivering weapons in exchange for narcotics was the name of the Air America Corporation.

Though this corporation owns some two hundred planes, few in the U.S. itself have ever heard of it. It shuns publicity and never issues profit-and-loss or investment-and-dividend reports. Anyone attempting to research in its background and identify its real owners, encounters a tangle of business deals with a whole network of other air companies. In those days only well-informed government officials knew that all these companies fronted for the CIA.

To this day the CIA uses the privately owned Southern Air Transport, Evergreen International, and Summit Aviation Inc. to transship weapons to Central America and bring back cocaine.

To recruit mercenaries to fight the national patriotic forces in Indochina, the CIA enabled them to bring out opium from the Golden Triangle, where the borders of Thailand, Burma and Laos meet. And though as heroin most of this opium escalated drug addiction at home, CIA officers did not experience the least remorse. "If we didn't help our friends to get narcotics out, how could we get them to fight communism?" they wondered.

The most energetic drug pushers inside the U.S. are from the CIA "old guard" of Cuban émigrés, who fled after the fall of the Batista regime. They were involved in the Bay of Pigs landing, sought to assassinate Fidel Castro, and hunted down supporters of Salvador Allende who fled Chile after the military coup. In the early 1960s they took the standard training course at the CIA "farm," the camp where U.S. intelligence agents are instructed. At Langley, they were allowed to traffic in cocaine and marijuana as rewards for their loyal services which, incidentally, the U.S. News and World Report described six years ago.

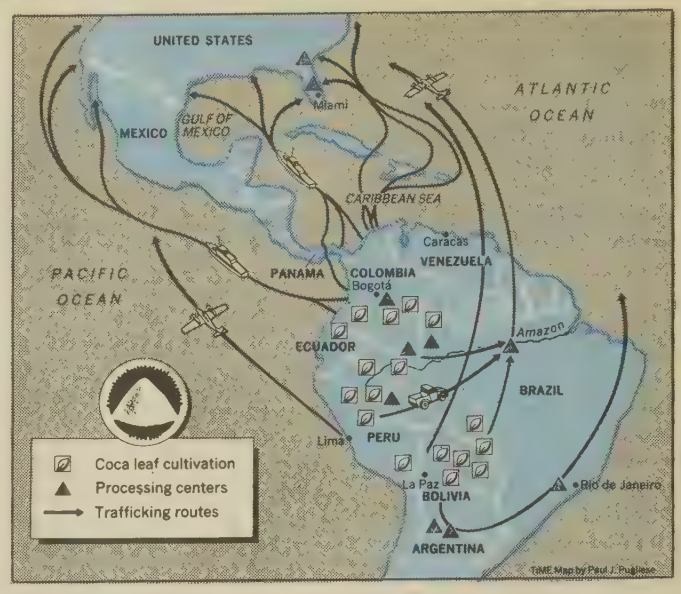
Since the late 1970s, the CIA acquired new clients, the counterrevolutionaries, who in their fight against people's power in Afghanistan receive weapons in exchange for narcotics. The money netted from the heroin and cocaine traffic is used to pay for U.S. arms deliveries to the UNITA splinter grouping in Angola and the contras in Nicaragua.

The money the CIA thus "earns" is employed to fund subversive operations. The U.S. Department of Justice Administration of Drug Enforcement is too puny to interfere with a business that enjoys such influential patronage.

"We're getting the alien who is a 'mule,' and is being paid a couple of hundred dollars to drive a truck with 'cabbage.' He knows what's in there, but he doesn't know where or why. If he gets caught, he's got no record," the Administration chief complained to the U.S. News and World reporter, well aware that he would never get to the "kings."

In former times the U.S. News and World Report was franker. So why, knowing who the real kings of the narco-business are, is this respected magazine now trying to lay the blame at the doors of the socialist countries? And who furnished its editors with this misinformation? The kings of the "white death" at Langley?

**LEONID MLECHIN**




**Time magazine published this chart of drug trafficking routes from South to North America two years ago, when the story of supposed involvement by the socialist countries in the narcotics business had yet to be invented and links with Nicaragua and Cuba had not even been intimated.**

# Heavy water cocktail

People say nowadays that it is comparatively easy to make an atom bomb, but this is only partly true. Many specific conditions and different materials, not least important of which is deuterium oxide, better known as heavy water, are needed.

After the recent exposure of the Israeli atomic weapon programme, the Norwegian government recalled that in the early 1960s the Rjukan plant had supplied the Dimona nuclear research centre with heavy water. In its underground laboratories, as ex-employee Mordechai Vanunu testified, scientists are producing "Doomsday bombs." True, the Norwegian contract specifies that the heavy water supplied should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that the supplier has the right to inspect operations.

Nobody in Oslo had anything against the sale of 21 tons of heavy water to Tel Aviv. It is only a quarter of a century later that Norwegians are experiencing bewilderment and surprise at the real uses to which Rjukan's heavy water is being put.

The clamour in the media and moves by the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs have not made much impression on Israel, whose government, far from admitting to the existence of atom bombs, is denying Oslo its right of inspection into the bargain. Inasmuch as Israel has not so far signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons it cannot regard its contract with Norway as being worth the paper it is written on.

**ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV**

# An ingenious lot

Some time ago a new section was added to the U.S. State Department in Foggy Bottom. With a staff distinguished for its ingenuity, its purpose is to hamper, in every conceivable way, the normal work of foreign diplomats accredited to Washington.

In violation of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, to which the U.S. is a signatory, foreign diplomats are now being made to pay new taxes. At U.S. airports, they undergo humiliating control procedures. They are also prohibited from buying building materials and air or railway tickets, or booking hotel accommodation without State Department sanction.

The diplomats being harassed in this way represent countries with which the White House and State Department profess interest in maintaining good relations.

As everything in international affairs is based on reciprocity, it is possible that other countries will be obliged to have recourse to the services of persons of similar ingenuity.

**MIKHAIL PUTINKOVSKY**



# Slaughter house No...

The tragedy in the South Korean city of Kwangju in the latter half of May 1980 will never be forgotten. On May 17, the authorities promulgated a state of martial law throughout South Korea, banning all political activity, and dissolving all parties and political organizations. Hundreds of opposition figures were repressed and tried on stereotype charges of "subverting national security." The streets ran with blood.

After Seoul dictator Pak Chung Hee was killed in October 1979, South Koreans believed democratic reforms to be in the offing. However, on December 12 that year in a military takeover General Chun Doo Hwan, commanding officer of the state security forces, assumed control. Instead of the expected "liberalization," reaction and terror were unleashed against the opposition. In response by April-May 1980 the student movement had acquired unprecedented proportions. The students wanted the dictatorship abolished and political life democratized at once.

In Kwangju student manifestations escalated into armed uprising. The insurgents captured the local arsenal and held the city for a whole week, forcing the authorities to negotiate. The students were joined by men and women from different walks of life, mostly intellectuals, office workers, and the unemployed.

Regular troops were marched against the city and, with reinforced police squads, quelled the uprising with unprecedented brutality. More than 200 people were killed and more than a thousand injured and placed under arrest. Several student leaders were summarily executed.

Today Kwangju is more than a painful memory for the Korean people, more than a reminder of the grief of families who lost their fathers and sons. In South Korean political life it symbolizes heroic endurance in the struggle for democratization. It is also a potent source of anti-American feeling insofar as many South Koreans are convinced that the U.S. sanctioned the slaughter.

Within the context of the currently expanding social movement for democracy, the Seoul rulers are trying to establish contacts with the official opposition within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarianism. At the same time they want to isolate and bar radical elements, especially students, from participation in the political process.

However, South Korea's students have not been crushed. The Kon-Kuk University rebellion in Seoul in October 1986 was the largest recent anti-government action. The students openly demanded the overthrow of the Chun Doo Hwan regime. After a three-day siege, the police stormed the campus, where the students had erected barricades. In scale, the travesties of justice meted out to the student rebels outdid the trials of the Kwangju insurgents.

**ANDREI BUCHKIN**

**Kwangju, 1980.**

UPI—TASS photo

# The strategy and tactics of national reconciliation

## NAJIB, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, answers questions put to him by members of the PDPA

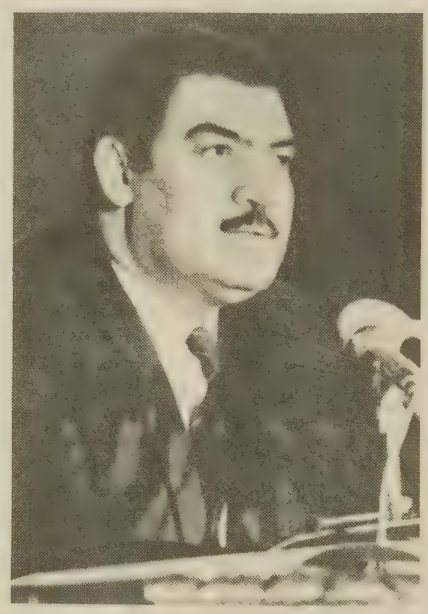
**Is the policy of national reconciliation a strategy or a tactic?**

National reconciliation is the strategic objective necessary for the entire nation and for the party as its political vanguard. Today this objective is still remote, but we have set our sights on it, and outlined the general line of advance in this direction; in this sense national reconciliation policy is a strategy.

The attainment of the lofty objective calls for the use of varied mutually complementary and interchangeable forms, methods and techniques of work. Putting an end to hostilities, the forming of extraordinary commissions at all levels all the way up to the top, conducting negotiations with the other side, working together in these commissions, resettling the returnees, the fair distribution of free aid, restoring and repairing war-ravaged mosques, roads, bridges, hospitals, schools—all these are tactical means towards this general objective. But in any case the most important immediate task now is to redouble our efforts—in fact, to intensify them three- and even tenfold in order to end combat action everywhere, reach agreements with the other side, and heal the numerous bleeding wounds inflicted by the eight-year fratricidal war. This is the No. 1 task for us today. We must deal with these problems more efficiently today than we did yesterday.

**Is national reconciliation linked to the PDPA's practical programme?**

Yes, there is an immediate connection between them. The PDPA's practical programme is a programme of action adopted at its first national conference in 1982. The programme makes it perfectly clear that the party's policy aims at the unity of the national patriotic forces comprising representatives of all ethnic and social groups, strata and organizations including workers, peasants, artisans, traders, entrepreneurs, mullahs and ulamas, elders and local authorities, tribal chiefs, judges, teachers, doctors and engineers. In a word, all those who constitute modern Afghan society, with the exception of its implacable and active enemies. Our



compatriots who have found themselves abroad for a variety of reasons are being called upon to come back. They are guaranteed that they will not be persecuted for their past activities.

**Isn't national reconciliation a sign of weakness in the party and the government?**

It is not. The weak relinquish power, relieve themselves of responsibility for the fate of their people and their homeland, flee abroad and start what they call "fighting for the liberation of their country" there. We don't want to threaten anyone, but, make no mistake about it, our government has more and better equipped troops than any other Afghan government has had before it. And besides, no previous Afghan government has had such loyal, powerful and disinterestedly helpful friends as we do. This is not a matter of weakness or strength, but a matter of observing the laws governing the national democratic stage of the revolution. If we proceeded from this factor alone, we might deal ever stronger blows to the enemy and carry the war to a victorious conclusion. But the point is that the war in question is being fought in Afghanistan, not somewhere outside it. If continued, the war will bring death and suffering to millions of people. The demise of our young people may deprive the nation of the future. This cannot be the aim of our revolution, the party or the government.

This is why we have formulated the concept of national reconciliation and are persistently putting it into practice. It has been initiated by the PDPA Central Committee, Politbureau and Secretariat, rather than by any individual. The party grew aware, and became convinced, of the fact that armed struggle is not the way to achieve an early political settlement in Afghanistan, or of the Afghan issue in general.

**How will the national government be established or formed?**

A coalition—or, simply speaking, joint—government already exists. It is functioning and being consolidated at village-district-regional level, gradually working up to the provincial level, and will certainly reach the national level. More than four thousand representatives of the other side have joined extraordinary local reconciliation commissions. This is a distinguishing feature of the situation in the sphere of coalition rule which begins at grass roots in Afghanistan. It would take less effort and time, of course, to start right at the top, in the centre, and to proceed to lower levels. But the question does not rest entirely with us here. The implacable and fanatical quarters on the other side refuse to negotiate a coalition government, the "top to bottom" coalition I have mentioned. We have left the door open for negotiations. We have honestly gone our part of the way towards a coalition. But we are not going to stand waiting at this open door. We shall make every effort to expand and strengthen the coalition bodies, and elevate them to higher levels, in the sphere both of government and of extraordinary commissions, the national front and public organizations.

**What posts will the other side get? Could you specify the persons you are going to share power with? How many, and what posts will you keep for yourselves?**

We invite all those concerned to reach an agreement on the basis of reconciliation, and today we are saying once again that we are prepared to discuss with representatives from opposition groups concrete suggestions as to the composition of a coalition

government. These discussions could be held in Kabul or in a neutral country.

I should like to stress the fact that our present government has four ministers of former regimes and 35 non-party men in it. A few of the former leaders of armed opposition groups now hold administrative posts at provincial, regional and district government levels. This is an example of the national reconciliation policy in action.

**How can we be reconciled with feudal lords, deputies and senators from royal times? How can we be reconciled with those who have killed?**

My answer is that we are not going to make peace with all the former feudal lords, deputies and senators but only with those of them who recognize the new order and come home not to try and restore the old regime, but to work for national reconciliation, for the good of the people and the country. We shall talk to them from positions of friendship. If they cooperate, we shall give them a chance to work, and live among us. If they show their teeth, it will be a bad lookout for them.

**If counterrevolutionary groups respond to the bid for national reconciliation and return home, will they be forgiven by the relatives and families of those they have murdered?**

We understand the relatives' feelings, and we ask them to forgive their former enemies like good Moslems, so as not to aggravate the people's and their own grief and cause our compatriots to sustain further losses.

**What shall we do if, within six months of the cease-fire, our political opponents prove not to be prepared for peace and the imperialists start giving them still more aid?**

As our people say, friendship is something you cannot cut with a sword. We value friendship and call upon all our opponents to do so, as well. Those who don't will be treated accordingly. We shall defend our country and our revolution.

**Article 13 of the PDPA Rules calls for an irreconcilable attitude towards enemies. Doesn't this article make national reconciliation impossible? Will it be altered? Will any amendments be made in the Party Programme or Rules after the formation of a government of national unity?**

One must indeed be intolerant of convinced out-and-out enemies of our party and our revolution, which is being carried out in the name of the people. Therefore, Article 13 of the PDPA Rules needn't be changed. As we see it, there is no contradiction between this article and the policy of national reconciliation. By national reconciliation we mean a compromise with those who do not oppose the PDPA. In other words, we are after reconciliation with those forces that, while disagreeing with the PDPA's position in some respects, are prepared to build a new progressive democratic Afghanistan in a united front with the PDPA.

Only time will tell when the government of national unity—also referred to as a coalition government—is formed. I'm putting it this way because its formation does not depend entirely on us. It is likewise hard to tell what its composition and programme will be. I repeat, this does not depend only on us.

While accepting a common programme or platform of the coalition government which may differ somewhat from our party's programme, we shall retain our own identity and our programme. Let history pass its verdict on which programme best suits the true interests of our homeland and our people.

**We are told to promote criticism. But when we do come up with criticism, we are told we are opposing the decisions of the Central Committee's plenary meetings.**

Criticisms differ. If a criticism is constructive, if it is aimed at improving things, then it must certainly be taken into account. At the same time, criticism should never be offensive.

No person or organization should be above criticism. Recent meetings, held to uniform agendas, have confirmed that party members are boldly criticizing whatever shortcomings there are, without respect of persons.

**Certain party and state bodies are wanting in order, discipline and unity. What measures are being taken to enforce them?**

Order, discipline and unity can be strengthened not by a special campaign but by constant and systematic effort. Take the unity of the party, for instance. This is an important factor characterizing the state of the party; the problems connected with achieving party unity cannot be solved once and for all. At the same time, this factor is anything but abstract. Today the party members' attitude to the policy of restructuring our political work, to the policy of national reconciliation is the basic criterion of party unity. Each party organization and each party committee must work for unity of action in the process of restructuring and reconciliation.

The same applies to discipline and order. At the present extraordinary juncture we must be more exacting in all sectors of the party setup and state machinery and take stronger measures against those guilty of violating discipline and order, whoever they are and whatever posts they hold. This is also recorded in the Party Rules.

**Certain members of the party indulge in debauchery and drinking, take bribes and engage in red tape. Why aren't strong measures taken against them? Party and government functionaries make free with office cars, and some party members do not work as revolutionaries should. What is being done about this?**

These are fair questions, on the whole. As I read them I thought: here is a case of the party being judged by the behaviour of just one person. Therefore, I'd like to make it clear that mistakes, even serious ones, committed by one person cannot be identified with the entire party or society, although the party bears responsibility for the integrity and honesty of each of its members. On the whole, our party is in good health, and an overwhelming majority of party members abide strictly and unflinchingly by its Rules. The abuses you've mentioned are due to inadequate work on the part of party organizations, insufficient criticism and self-criticism, a lack of control from the top and from below, and from the fact that there is still not enough openness. The latest plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the Politbureau and the PDPA Central Committee Secretariat have adopted decisions on personnel questions aimed at eradicating these disgraceful phenomena. We shall call to account those who abuse their authority and the party's trust in them and who damage the PDPA by their behaviour. Local party organizations should also step up their activity.

**Why, with the present situation as tense as it is, is the Revolutionary Council headed by an acting president? This gives the West reason to assert that ex-King Zahir Shah will be appointed president of the Revolutionary Council.**

What can I say to that? A new constitution is in the making. A new president of the Revolutionary Council or some other supreme authority of the country will be elected in accordance with the new constitution. Let us not try to guess at whom the people will prefer and elect.

**How will the state deal with the nationalities' question?**

Let me tell you straight away that this is a very delicate question. It will be dealt with in due course, as our economy and social sphere develop. This question is being resolved in principle: all the ethnic groups and tribes of the D.R.A. are equal, certain problems of ethnic relations should be resolved on the spot in the spirit of the basic principles of the D.R.A. and the PDPA's programme of action and, after this programme is adopted, in the spirit of the new D.R.A. constitution. Aid to individual tribes and ethnic groups is given through the D.R.A. Ministry of Tribe and Nationalities Affairs. However, the PDPA Central Committee and the government seek to increase this aid and, most importantly, to make sure that it reaches all those who need it.

**Why are we negotiating with counter-**

# Built by Mavrovo

**For close on eleven years MILISAV KASTRATOVIC, manager of the Yugoslav firm Mavrovo, has been building hotels on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus. Journalist Leonid Ryzhkov talked with Milisav Kastratovic about cooperation between Yugoslav and Soviet builders.**

**This question would perhaps be more appropriate at the end, but let's start with it: Is it difficult to work abroad, far from home, for so many years?**

It depends on where. My firm builds in many countries, among them the F.R.G. Iran and France, and our relations with clients there work out differently. I know from the experience of my colleagues how hard it sometimes is to find a common language with foreign partners. We once had a problem, in France, when our shipments from Yugoslavia were held up for some valid reason. So we asked our clients to lend us the necessary materials and equipment and promised to return them in a week, but we were given a flat no. Why so? Because our idleness was in a way to their advantage: it was we who were having trouble meeting the contract, not they.

I can't think of even a single such case in the Soviet Union. The working atmosphere here has been most favourable right from the planning stage. I can confirm that the authors of the Soviet design for the Dagomys project paid great attention to the suggestions Yugoslav architects had to make. This is the first case of such cooperation between specialists from different countries in this field that I can recall in world practice. We immediately developed rapport and started working together as befits equal partners.

We've had the same kind of teamwork with other Soviet organizations. I'll tell you frankly: the almost eleven years I've lived in the Soviet Union have been for me like a gift of fate. Others also feel the same way.

**Cooperation presupposes the possibility of learning from each other. I won't conceal from you that my friends in the building industry have told me they look with envy at the quality of work done by their Yugoslav colleagues.**

Soviet builders, you know, can also work, as they say, to international standards. So it would be more to the point, to my mind, to talk about reciprocal exchanges of expertise. You use precast concrete products in construction on such a wide scale and so well, for instance, that you can be envied in any country.

Where you're really not up to the mark is the quality of finish. The problem, in my view, is not even with building workers and their skills but with the absence of an up-to-date finishing industry in the construction sector here. Your joinery, wallpaper, paintwork materials and sanitary fitmets look meagre, to say the least. But there is a but here. When you build abroad, you're quite capable of competing with any West European or American firm. You can do it also at home whenever you need to erect some model facility. I have taken specialists from my firm to the seaside block of the sanatorium Sochi and to the city's Zhemchuzhina (Pearl) hotel several times to show them how one can and should build. Mind you, these buildings are not at all new, they are between 15 and 20 years old, but they still look great. So your building workers really can do wonders if they want to.

**Are you through with the Dagomys and Zapolyarye projects?**

Not quite. We recently signed another contract to put up a residential building for Zapolyarye personnel, where more than 300 people will be able to move in in 15 months' time.

The sanatorium's owners—the Norilsk mining and smelting works in the Far North—are funding the housing scheme, incidentally, with their above-plan profits. I see it as a good example of how your new economic mechanism, which uses the principles of self-support and cost accounting, works. This is the first time, at any rate, that I have seen a work collective being able to spend their surplus profits at their own discretion, to meet their own social needs.

**Let's get back to the Dagomys complex. Tell me candidly: If you were a millionaire, would you invest your own money in this project? I'm asking the question because some economists claim that it will only recoup the expense involved in 100 years.**

It depends on how you do the reckoning. In this present form, the Dagomys complex will indeed take a lot of time to reimburse construction costs. But it can double its capacity to receive twice as many as its current maximum of 2,500 guests. The infrastructure of the hotel complex can easily cope with the increased load. All the supply lines, cafés, restaurants and bars at Dagomys are good and ready. They can already cater for 5,000 people at a time. It only remains to build more accommodation.

And then, speaking of profitability, why should the Dagomys complex handle only group tours from abroad? It meets the highest international standards and can also satisfy the most exacting requirements of individual tourists who are commercially much more remunerative to host. So, if I were a millionaire, I wouldn't be afraid to put my money into such ventures.

Apart from financial considerations,

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**revolutionaries? After all, our ideology and theirs are poles apart.**

We are negotiating with representatives of the other side, not in order to ascertain our ideological differences, but in order to try and achieve the objectives all Afghans aspire to: ending the fratricidal war and getting a peaceful life under way.

**A great deal of political explanatory work must be conducted among the returnees. Could you elaborate on this matter?**

We must help people to get back to normal as soon as possible at home and to join in the building of the new society. This is the most important thing and our top priority. This is where the political work with the returnees begins, and the PDPA Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are working out extra measures to improve it.

**The PDPA rests on the foundation of a scientific revolutionary theory. What is the party's attitude to Islam?**

As a political party and as the vanguard of the nation, the PDPA has emerged on the political scene of a Moslem country. It defends the interests and expresses the thoughts and aspirations of the Afghan people, an overwhelming majority of whom profess the religion of Islam. The party has no other social base. Therefore, the religion of Islam and folk traditions have the party's every support.

**The members of the Amin government have been confined to jail. Are they really criminals?**

Over 5,500 political prisoners have already been amnestied, some of the Amin men among them. The amnesty process continues. Only those who have been directly involved in exterminating innocent people are not eligible for amnesty.

**It was chiefly Hafizullah Amin's treacherous activity that alienated the popular masses from the revolution. So why have his accomplices been released from prison?**

Only those who do not come in the above-mentioned category have been released by the decree of the Revolutionary Council.

**The treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union was signed on Taraki's initiative. So why isn't his name mentioned during the annual treaty anniversary celebrations? He was a well-**

there is also the important factor of prestige. You build superb health resorts for vacationers, but—don't take offense—you don't know how to promote them! Publicity for Dagomys ought to be such as to make it known as a Soviet hotel complex around the world, on all continents.

**As far as I know, Yugoslav construction workers are not known in this country exclusively for what they build in the way of holiday centres.**

This is true. My colleagues from other Yugoslav firms are building a huge agro-industrial complex in the Kuban region, which will be complete with food-processing plants, storages, refrigerating facilities. It is modelled on a project in Belgrade, which, for its part, has been put up under a licence granted by a similar complex in Philadelphia. The technology will be the same, but the scale here will be much larger. Whereas the Belgrade operation can cater for 1.5 million people, the Kuban one will be able to provide enough food for 5 million, or almost the entire population of the region.

**What do you think of the possibility of such cooperation in construction? That is, not only design, which you have already talked about, but also building work proper?**

Such cooperation is quite possible, and even essential to some cases. I have already told you that we are going to build housing for the Zapolyarye sanatorium's staff. Soviet design and construction organizations have undertaken to lay the foundation and supply plumbing fixtures and furniture, while we shall take care of the rest. This arrangement is to our mutual advantage. The availability of manpower resources, materials and construction machines here makes such integration most expedient. It is possible to time everything sensibly in advance, but it is imperative for both sides then to follow delivery and building schedules to the letter.

**Since you mention it, schedules are obviously not always observed as they should be.**

Regrettably, they aren't. I remember that when we were building a beach at Dagomys, your builders under the contract were to construct dike dams and breakwaters there. They missed the deadline, however, by as much as a year and a half. We managed to complete the beach on time in the end, but only by dint of crash work literally from morning till night for four months.

**If you as a contractor fall behind schedule, I imagine it will cost you a pretty penny. And what happens if our builders are late with their work?**

In the case I have just mentioned, the customer did not suffer as that particular deal envisaged penalties only for the contractor. On the Zapolyarye project, however, we are both in the same boat: whoever fails to work to schedule pays for the consequences.

This is, as a matter of fact, another real example of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. And I think it most indicative in demonstrating how significantly more liable your enterprises and work collectives are being made for failings in their performance.

**You have touched upon what is for us a very important subject. Onlookers, the saying goes, see more than players.**

This is probably true. I've been watching with curiosity as my Soviet colleagues develop a real and increasingly pronounced proprietary interest in the business in hand. The changes are obvious even if we just take the past year. Previously, we could order any building materials in any quantities and would be supplied with everything requested in even greater amounts than we could consume. It was as if our Soviet hosts didn't care at all. It was as if they had inexhaustible materials and resources or as if they were multimillionaires with more money than they would ever want to count. Now, it is as different as could be. Now, supplies are not resumed until we use up the last asbestos-cement pipe and the last bag of cement. It is only after we have put everything from the warehouse on a construction site to use that we can get another consignment of materials to build with.

I can also see how eagerly and devoutly Soviet people have set about pursuing reform and how firmly they are convinced of the need for it. The changes taking place in the country and their businesslike and practical nature leap to the eye even here, at a health resort.

I do not suggest that it is all plain sailing now. There still are some hitches, but things are clearly looking up.

**The facts you mentioned bear out one very important idea. It was voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his recent trip to Czechoslovakia. He said that the period in which socialism had to assert itself as a world system is now over and that a new period has begun, which calls for the raising of the entire system of relations between our countries to a drastically new level.**

I can see what this drastically new level of relationships is about from my own experience. Once wishful thinking, direct economic contacts between factories and firms in our countries are now becoming a reality. Take our last contract with the Norilsk works. We negotiated and signed it in just two months, whereas previously it would have taken us at least six months to do so. So just imagine how good it will be if there are no middlemen standing in our way and factories and firms can really strike deals directly with each other. It will be possible to do in a week what previously we could only do in a year.

**So the changes under way here are also benefitting our partners in other countries?**

Certainly.

Sochi

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**known writer, but his political and literary legacy is neither studied nor published. Why hasn't a monument to him been erected? Why aren't Taraki's portraits in evidence at party and revolutionary festivals?**

The Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the D.R.A. was signed on the PDPA's initiative. Many comrades are interested in the attitude of our party and state to the political and literary legacy of Nur Mohammad Taraki. The PDPA always remembers and respects the founders of the party, who have done much for the rise and development of the revolutionary movement in the country. I mean Nur Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal, Mir Akbar Khybar. Their contribution to the cause of the revolution is unforgettable. As for monuments, there is no tradition of erecting monuments to individuals in our country as yet.

A survey of the history of the PDPA, now being compiled, will give a scientific and critical analysis to the work of all the leaders of our party.

**What is your attitude to the policy of King Amanulla Khan who ruled from 1919 to 1929?**

There were many positive features in Amanulla Khan's policy. It was in his reign that the Afghan-Soviet Treaty, a document of great friendship, was signed on February 28, 1921. Amanulla Khan's correspondence with the great Lenin, and his meetings with the leaders of the Soviet Union are a vivid example of representatives of different countries—different worlds even—seeking and finding a common language.

Our policy is not merely a carbon copy of Amanulla Khan's, of course. In the sphere of Afghan-Soviet relations we have risen to a qualitatively new level. We have gone all the way from good-neighbourliness to friendship and brotherhood. Our domestic policy has the purpose of building a democratic and prosperous state. But the main thing is that we have been pursuing, and will continue to pursue, the honest and pure line of friendship with our northern neighbour. This line has been bequeathed to us by our fathers and grandfathers, and we shall live up to their aspirations. ■

# The arms-pushing general

LEV YELIN

According to the report of the Tower Commission on the Iran/Contra scandal, in order to help the Nicaraguan contras the Reagan administration not only illegally sold arms to Iran and manipulated secret bank accounts, but used the services of "friendly" countries. The names of the countries have been deleted from the published report, but the Hong Kong Far Eastern Economic Review claims that the countries in question are Taiwan, South Korea and Brunei. These countries made available 10 of the 32 million dollars in private donations which the contras received from June 1984 to March 1985. Make no mistake: the money in question has not been used to buy powdered milk or tinned meat. Adolfo Calero, head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, has admitted that the bulk of the money was used to buy arms.

The money was procured by John Singlaub, a retired major general.

## Mechanism

"Singlaub will be here to see me tomorrow. With your permission, I will ask him to approach (X) at (country deleted) Interest Section and (Y) at the (country deleted) Embassy urging that they proceed with their offer. Singlaub would then put Calero in direct contact with each of these officers. No White House/NSC solicitation would be made. Nor would Singlaub indicate any U.S. Government endorsement whatsoever."

This is the text of a memorandum Colonel Oliver North sent on February 6, 1985, to Robert McFarlane, the then chief of the National Security Council, and presidential assistant for national security affairs. X and Y remain anonymous, but they are mere executors of orders. More intriguing is the Interest Section, which is the Taiwan Coordination Council for North American Affairs. The embassy mentioned in the memorandum is that of South Korea.

Let us now look at what stands behind the words "their offer." North clearly and deliberately confuses things. The offer (unofficial, no doubt) of money for the contras came from the U.S. administration and was conveyed through the "independent" retired general Singlaub. Seoul and Taipei were aware that the White House was trying to circumvent the congressional ban on funding subversive activities by Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, and they responded readily in order "not to disappoint Reagan," as one Asian diplomat put it. Otherwise who knows what would happen to future American military and economic aid to these countries (Taipei alone bought 750 million dollars worth of U.S. arms in 1986). "Taiwan and South Korea," writes the Far Eastern Economic Review, "may have felt the need to be in the good books of the administration."

True, some fears remained. Singapore had been approached with a similar request—at a rather high level. But, as Hong Kong journalists have established, the request was politely turned down. ("You Americans cannot keep any secrets," was reportedly Singapore's reason for the refusal.)

**General Singlaub: "I wanted to build a mechanism..."**
From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

To allay the fears of other "friends," Singlaub came up with a plan which was later used in the deal with Iran. "I wanted to establish a mechanism where the country would not be embarrassed by making a clearly direct contribution and having it detected (and cause ramifications) in Congress,"

# Congressional inquiry into Irangate continues

As the irony of fate would have it, the current joint Irangate hearings in the House and Senate committees started on May 5 in the very room in which the Watergate testimonies had been heard. That there is a parallel is understandable. Late last November, Lesley Stall, the CBS national security correspondent, observed that Reagan's supporters were alarmed lest the crisis he had brought on himself would drag him down the same road as that along which the Vietnam venture had forced Lyndon Johnson, the Watergate scandal, Richard Nixon, and the Iranian hostage bungle, Jimmy Carter. However, at the time the Boston Globe contended that the row developing could become still more serious.

After a lapse of five months, have these forecasts been borne out? Yes and no. Before the present hearings began, Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat, Hawaii, chairman of the Senate Select Committee who took part in the Watergate hearings, observed: "The issues involved in the Iran/contra problem are much more profound than the issues involved in Watergate." However, he at once added, "I do not think the impact will be anywhere near that of Watergate." Why this rather widespread view?

There are several reasons. Firstly, the state of national awareness has changed considerably over the last 14 years. What seemed quite unacceptable then is no longer seen as shocking today. The initial reports on the clandestine contra-aid network appeared nearly three years ago. In May 1986 Washington lawyer Daniel Sheehan, acting in his capacity as counsel for two American newsmen, lodged a law suit with the Miami city court against individuals now being summoned to the Irangate hearings. However, it needed external pressure for the whole affair to assume the proportions of an international scandal and an official inquiry to be started.

Another reason is the very character

Singlaub said. "I wanted to provide justification for a government that wanted to help but didn't want it known publicly."

Singlaub knew about the deals under way and in the pipeline to sell American arms to South Korea and Taiwan. He suggested that each of these governments pay an extra $10 million, some of which would be pocketed by the arms merchants and the rest would be put into the contras' bank account.

For instance, Singlaub intended to take advantage of the deal whereby Israel was to supply 40 MK-37 torpedoes to Taiwan. The deal was being negotiated by a firm of consultants in Washington, with the general himself actively involved. Tel Aviv named the sum: $72-75 million. Taipei would pay $82-85 million, and that would be that. True, the White House did not give clearance for the deal, which was necessary as the torpedoes were U.S.-made. Singlaub was confident, however, that the obstacle could be overcome. Eventually the plan was abandoned. Singlaub claims that he had merely left a card in Taipei and Seoul with the number of the contras' account in the National Bank of Panama. But it is hard to believe that the general left empty-handed. Apparently he succeeded in pushing through another deal that suited the allies. Before long, the Nicaraguan contras began to receive shipments of light weaponry from Taiwan. The CIA resident in Taipei was instrumental in these deliveries. Seoul, too, moved into action.

The general kept Oliver North posted on the affair, and North reported to McFarlane. Was the ambitious general happy with receiving that kind of guidance in his activities? He said: "I got my guidance listening to his [President Reagan's — **L.Y.**] Saturday morning radio speeches." The Baltimore Sun on December 28, 1986, quoted Singlaub's secretary to the effect that it was only over the past two months that he had not talked with the President (that is, the conversations had stopped when the Iran/Contra revelations began). What did they talk about during their previous meetings? "The conversations are generally about the communist movement all over the world." To put it more accurately, they talked about ways to combat the communist movement all over the world. Retired Major General Singlaub was president of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL—see New Times No. 49, 1986) between 1981 and the autumn of 1986. Now he is a member of the League's secretariat and simultaneously head of its U.S. branch, the American Council for World Freedom. President Reagan twice (in 1982 and 1984) sent personal greetings to the WACL—something no other U.S. president had done before him. WACL president Singlaub was a frequent guest at the White House exactly when the Taipei-Seoul-contras operation was under way. One can only guess, however, what Reagan's role was in organizing this aid and whether he approved of the anti-communist general's mission.

Cartoon by Nikolai Shcherbakov

## Service record

Singlaub was ideal for the role of liaison officer between the Taiwan and South Korean regimes, and the contras.

To begin with, he was familiar with the region. In the 1940s, he was a liaison man for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (the fore-runner of the CIA) in Kuomintang China. He was in charge of liaison with Chiang Kai-shek's forces (in 1949 the Kuomintang fled to

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of the row, which has long ceased to be confined to the U.S. According to influential Republican Congressman Dick Cheney, "Watergate was a political burglary. It had no national security aspects." The White House's actions with regard to Iran and the contras were "for policy reasons... it was clearly within the President's prerogatives."

There is still another important reason why it is necessary to distinguish between Watergate and Irangate. In the process of the current investigation, the Democrats are bending over backwards not to attack the President, so that the impression is not produced that they are trying to exploit the affair to further their own narrow party interests. Meanwhile, the Republicans are not pressing matters, as they are fully aware of the consequences the revelations may have for them in the 1988 elections.

Shortly before the Irangate hearings began, Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat, chairman of the House Select Committee, warned that there would be no sensations. Republican Senator Warren Rudman, vice-chairman of the Senate Select Committee, said that the facts would speak for themselves. However, after the first fortnight, the endless relating of facts has still further undermined confidence in the administration. According to the Christian Science Monitor the view is gaining ground in Washington that President Reagan knew more about the Iran-contras affair than had been earlier admitted. To create the semblance of "work as usual," the White House staff, which was almost completely replaced last November, is trying to furnish the President with as much exposure as possible. Nevertheless, he is repeatedly having to answer the same old questions, which at times annoys him perceptibly.

The White House is closely following the Congressional hearings as is evidenced by what happened on May 14. No sooner had Robert Owen, a former U.S. State Department consultant who acted as Oliver North's personal messenger and liaison agent, mentioned the name of White House staff member Jonathan Miller at the hearings than his "voluntary" resignation was announced only an hour later.

However, all this is merely an overture. The weekly four days of Congressional hearings will continue at least into late June. At them, the testimonies of John Poindexter, the President's former national security adviser, and Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North will comprise what the National Journal has termed the "central unpredictable element." According to the administrations' official story, the two were supposedly fully responsible for the covert operation, for which reason the White House sacked them last November. Should they now decide to frankly testify, it could be pretty damaging for the administration.

Retired General Richard Secord, former assistant to the President for national security affairs Robert McFarlane, and the above-mentioned Robert Owen were questioned for the most part about the factual aspects of the operation. The basic issue of the substance of the very policy that inevitably resulted in this fiasco, seems to have been sidestepped. The U.S. Attorney General termed North's clandestine transfer of millions of dollars to the contras "abnormal," although in the Washington Post's view it is a consequence of the Reagan doctrine, with its disregard for the law and admiration of force. Indeed, the fight against communism in general and its spread in the Western Hemisphere in particular is, the paper says, Reagan's foremost priority.

**IGOR IGNATYEV**
**TASS correspondent, exclusive for New Times**
Washington

Taiwan and proclaimed an anti-communist republic there). In the late 1970s, Singlaub was Chief of Staff of the U.S. forces in South Korea. In 1978 he had to retire after publicly condemning President Carter's intention to withdraw troops from the peninsula.

Furthermore, the Republican administration had already enlisted Singlaub's services as an informal emissary. His first mission was to Guatemala: he was to persuade the country's rulers that the new administration would be better disposed towards the Guatemalan right, who were eradicating the "Reds."

In 1986-87 Singlaub paid several visits to the Philippines, ostensibly to look for the treasures hidden there by Japanese general Yamashita during the second world war. It was suggested, not without grounds, that the real aim of his visits was to strengthen and unite reactionaries in the Philippines who could put pressure on the Aquino government. The Philadelphia Inquirer reported that Singlaub had recruited a group of U.S. Vietnam veterans to train Filipinos in anti-guerrilla warfare. Singlaub met high-ranking officers of the Philippines armed forces right on the eve of another attempt at a military coup, whose aim was widely believed to be to push the Aquino government to the right.

## The front organization

Singlaub's other qualification for carrying out the contra aid operation was that he had the powerful mechanism of WACL at his disposal. The League had been set up in succession to the so-called Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League with the most active participation of Taipei and Seoul, which hosted more than one WACL conference.

Despite the great distances separating them, Singlaub worked consistently through WACL to bring the pro-American forces in Latin America and the Far East closer together. Thus, the organization Causa International, headed by former South Korean intelligence colonel Pak Bo Hi began, on Singlaub's advice, to organize anti-guerrilla workshops for the military from El Salvador, Uruguay and Honduras. The trainees' fare to Seoul is paid for by Causa International, a subsidiary of the United Church led by San Myan Mun of South Korea, which is affiliated with WACL.

Did these well-tried channels come in handy in getting Taiwan's military aid to the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua? Most probably. It is known that although the supplies were supervised by the CIA resident, weapons from Taipei did not go through U.S. intelligence channels. It looks as if they went through WACL. During his presidency of WACL, Singlaub made it an instrument of White House secret operations. Speaking at the League's conference in Dallas in 1985 Singlaub said that the League's aim was to extend efforts to raise funds to help the rebels not only in Central America, but also in Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Laos and Kampuchea. He cited Latin America, more specifically Nicaragua, as the Number One target. In May 1985 the NBC network reported that some American tycoons, including multimillionaires Haroldson Hunt and Jeff Coors, had started to donate generously to the contras. They were induced to do so by Singlaub.

In that instance, too, he was acting on direct instructions from Oliver North. It was North who told the general and his League to raise funds for the contras. This happened shortly after the U.S. Congress adopted the Boland Amendment in the spring of 1984, which banned direct aid to anti-Nicaraguan forces. The suggestion that Singlaub later went to Seoul and Taipei of his own accord holds no water. He was carrying out another assignment of the National Security Council, with WACL providing a convenient cover. No one controlled the League's finances, and Singlaub's trips could be accounted for as visits to subsidiary organizations. Singlaub last visited Taiwan in June and South Korea in July 1986.

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So, an "independent" arch-reactionary organization—WACL—and its president were selected as the instruments of the White House operation. The important thing was that they had no formal links with Washington.

In conclusion, let us cite the words of a Seoul diplomat whom the Far Eastern Economic Review quotes as saying that the Americans "went around with a begging bowl." What is happening to the image of a great power, and of the White House? Deceiving Congress, going around with a begging bowl in Asia? Are their ends such that they justify any means?

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# Irangate Italian style

At a court hearing in Manhattan, dealer Nico Minardos (accused of the illegal export of $2 billion worth of American arms to Iran) suddenly declared that there could be no question of contraband as he had spoken about these shipments in Rome with United States ambassador to Italy Maxwell Rabb during a conversation at his residence on Via Veneto.

Naturally such a statement did not pass unnoticed, and after numerous delays Rabb had to face the court to answer questions.

The fact that the court had only the evidence of an arraigned smuggler to rely on left the ambassador room to manoeuvre. He made the most of the opportunity. Yes, he had had a meeting with Minardos in Rome, but he knew nothing of his business, nor that he represented the Arab millionaire Adnan Khashoggi involved in arms trade. Then why did he meet Minardos? According to Rabb, the man had asked for an appointment through his secretary, claiming to be a "great friend" whom he had not managed to meet on his way to Athens. At this point the ambassador underlined that there was no question of friendship between them.

However, with the ambassador the visitor discussed problems connected with U.S.-Iranian relations. But, the ambassador assured the court, the word "weapons" never occurred in the conversation.

On the basis of Minardos' evidence, it is almost impossible to prove the contrary. But the Italian weekly L'Espresso drew attention to another subject that cropped up in the course of the investigations: the deliveries of Italian arms to Teheran, already reported by the press. Replying to questions in court, the American ambassador claimed that in the past two years he had received information that weapons to Iran were being dispatched from Italian ports. It's true, the Italian authorities had assured him that this information was "not quite correct" and that they were in control of the situation.

In court Rabb confirmed that he had informed the State Department of all these details and that Washington, despite all the official denials by the Italian government, knew of these deliveries. This gives grounds for supposing that Washington at least took Italy's arms deliveries into account when it was playing the dangerous game that led to the Irangate scandal. Assuming, of course, that those deliveries had not been an integral part of that game....

**ANATOLY ROMANOVSKY**

# The way the Chinese press sees it

A major objective reason for the reforms under way in Soviet society is, in the opinion of Chinese experts, the disparity between its economic mechanism and present-day requirements. The need for deep and comprehensive changes, they believe, is also dictated by the present international situation. Among the "main challenges" faced by the Soviet Union are, according to the Chinese press, the new round of the arms race initiated by the U.S., and the scientific and technological revolution rapidly developing worldwide. The Soviet leadership's firm resolve "to carry out the reconstruction whatever the obstacles" is based on the availability of rich natural resources, a strong economic base, and highly skilled scientific and technical personnel, as well as on the vast experience in building a new life, accumulated both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries.

Chinese authors also analyze the factors that hamper reconstruction, namely, the huge size of our country, the extensive scale of its economy, and "stagnation in its economic theory," specifically, the underestimation of the role of commodity-money relations under socialism.

They believe that in these conditions the reforms will inevitably cause some workers in posts of responsibility to forfeit their authority, and that leading executives adhering to old economic structures may offer resistance to the innovations.

In examining different factors that contribute to or hamper the restructuring, its achievements to date, and the problems still outstanding, the Chinese press voices different opinions concerning its prospects.

The prominent economist Wan Jincun, for instance, believes that "the Soviet Union has already mapped out ways of dealing with existing contradictions," and that the role of positive factors in the development of the Soviet economy will therefore continue to grow. Xing Shugang, head of the Soviet foreign policy department of the Soviet and East European Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, is of the opinion that the U.S.S.R.'s objective of doubling its gross national product by the end of this century is feasible. The 27th Congress of the CPSU is viewed in China as the "event that marked a new stage in the development of the Soviet Union." In studying the materials of the congress, the Chinese economists note the innovative character of its decisions and conclusions. Sumimng up the different views voiced in the Chinese press, the following basic points should be given particular attention:

— Previously it was believed in the Soviet Union that the basic elements of its economic system were correct and unshakable. The 27th Congress admitted that many of these elements did not accord with the requirements of the intensification of the economy, and even hampered its development.

— Previously it was stressed in the Soviet Union that reforms should be based above all on the existing principles of the economy. They have come to the conclusion that economic theory should correspond to the requirements of socialist production.

It should be noted that Chinese papers and magazines are indicating the comprehensive character of the strategy of the country's intensified socio-economic development adopted by the 27th Congress, a strategy called upon to bring about qualitative changes in all areas of social life. More and more Chinese analysts are paying close attention to the democratization of Soviet society and the development of openness, the activization of the country's social policy and reforms in its foreign economic activity and in the organization of science and culture.

Many organs of the Chinese mass media have assessed the January 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee as an important landmark in the development of the reform. They have noted the profundity and seriousness of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, and stressed the significance of what has already been accomplished. The magazine Liaowang, for instance, writes that "Soviet reform is entering a new phase of fairly large-scale and comprehensive development as a result of the consistent implementation of the new policy."

"China should not undeviatingly follow the Soviet pattern of socio-economic development," write local Chinese newspapers, pointing out that the situation in each specific socialist country is in many ways unique.

Chinese publications, however, do not deny the community of the major tasks tackled by socialist countries, including perfection of the socialist system, revealing its advantages, and combining these advantages with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Thus, the journal Hongqi, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, points out that there are four basic aspects in the experience of reforms in the U.S.S.R. and the socialist countries of Europe which the People's Republic of China should take into account in implementing its reforms:

first, it is necessary fully to realize the difficulty and complexity of economic reforms, so as to "carry them out in a spirit of unswerving resolve";

second, it is necessary "to pay serious attention to the vanguard role of theory in reforms"; Marxist-Leninist theory must be creatively developed in the course of reforms;

third, it is necessary "closely to coordinate reforms," and carry them out comprehensively;

fourth, "economic reforms should be closely linked with political reforms and stimulate each other."

Many Chinese authors show genuine interest in the experience of restructuring in socialist countries. They stress the significance for the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. of the study and exchange of each other's experience in socialist construction, in view of the magnitude of the present-day tasks. The idea was specifically developed by the economist Zheng Biao, who concluded his article comparing the economic reforms in China and the Soviet Union by saying that the two countries had started a real contest in economic development which was being closely followed by the entire world. If the participants in this contest were able to make full use of each other's advantages to overcome their own weaknesses, this would have a positive effect on its course and results. There would be no losers, only winners—the peoples of our two countries and the cause of socialism.

**SERGEI GONCHAROV and OKSANA ARTEMYEVA**

# Who will pay for "star wars"?

ALEXEI KIREYEV

When a correspondent for the French weekly Le Nouvel Observateur put this question to Wassily Leontief, a Nobel Prize-winning American economist, the latter did not beat about the bush: "Europe, of course. You funded our Vietnam war—remember, it was under President Johnson?—he ordered the printing of greenbacks to circulate in Europe. The Eurodollars. And then, again, through the dollar and high bank rates, Europe was forced to pay for our budget deficit. There is no reason why we should not do the same for SDI."

A categorical and far from unfounded statement. In its attempt to gain military superiority over the U.S.S.R. Washington tends to ignore the realities of the modern world and the potential of the American economy. In initiating a new round of the arms race, the U.S. cannot shoulder the cost alone. It puts much of the burden on its allies.

## "We need your help"

During his visit to France in November 1986, SDI Director James Abrahamson addressed the teaching staff at the Polytechnical School in Paris. Apologizing for not being able to speak French, he proceeded to address the professors in English. He spoke very slowly, and his message was summed up in one sentence: "We—need—your—help."

This was the message of many other high-ranking administration officials who have tried to lure the allies into the SDI. The message was not lost on them: they understood that it was not so much another call for "Atlantic solidarity" as an admission that the U.S. had exhausted its own resources to finance its grand military programmes.

According to the West German journal Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, during Reagan's first term in office, current budget receipts covered a mere 40 per cent of military spending, the rest being borrowed by the government, mostly in the domestic money market. The corresponding figures were 83 per cent under the Nixon administration and 52 per cent under Ford and Carter. According to a recent document of the Congressional Budget Bureau, the day is not far off when the growing federal budget deficit will exhaust the money market in the U.S. and deprive civilian production of credits for new investment. To prevent the rapacious militaristic Moloch gobbling up all free capital, Washington has been attracting resources from abroad by high bank interest rates. As a result of capital migration to the U.S., Western Europe alone found itself short of $300 billion in 1981-85. The cost of expensive credits to the developing countries over the same period was $120 billion.

The funding of military programmes from external sources did not affect the U.S. position on the international scene as long as the sum of foreign assets did not exceed U.S. investments abroad. But at the beginning of 1985 the U.S. became a "net debtor." It is clear that Americans are having to pay for their credit spree, was Business Week's gloomy comment. Keeping the bank rate high became not only impossible but dangerous. So the U.S. reduced it, but only just enough to prevent the reverse flow of foreign capital.

Other methods were used to substitute for the policy of expensive credits. By harnessing Britain, the F.R.G., Italy, Israel and Japan to SDI, Washington can now shop around the world capitalist market for the most promising military technology without spending much time or money developing it. "It can safely be said," wrote the Italian magazine Europeo, "that the involvement of West European firms in the SDI programme will provide an ideal channel for the massive and systematic drain of European ideas and high technology projects to the U.S. The United States will acquire within a year and for a ridiculously small sum—$60-70 million—the best of what nearly 300 advanced European enterprises have been able to conceive and design. But if Europe wants to use the technical achievements and designs of its own firms and research centres, it will have to buy them from the Americans."

So it was not for nothing that Abrahamson articulated his plea in Paris. Washington intends to go on pumping financial, technological, intellectual and other resources out of the rest of the capitalist world to pursue another round of the arms race and take it into outer space. Karl Marx compared militarism with throwing part of the nation's capital into the water. The transnational arms race imposed on the West by the U.S. militarists can well be compared with throwing other peoples' capital in as well.

## The space iceberg

After four-odd years of "research" on SDI, no one can confidently predict the final cost of a large-scale ABM system with space-based components. One thing is clear: it will require billions of dollars over decades. "Paradoxical though it may seem," wrote a West European newspaper, "it is the huge spending on research to create a 'space umbrella' that is the primary reason why Americans are insisting on the programme being carried through."

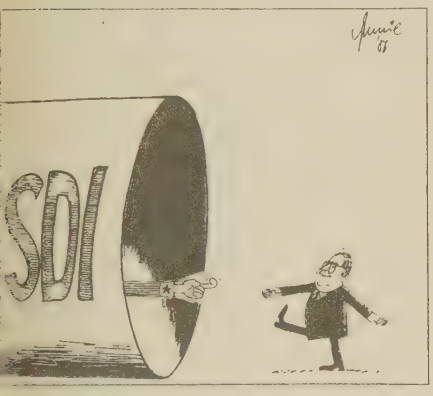
The U.S. military-industrial complex is counting on guaranteed profits from space weapon development over the next 25-30 years. In the first year of work on the SDI project, it cost a mere $992 million. But that is only the tip of the "space iceberg." The SDI programme from the outset incorporated all the military research in anti-missile defence which had cost the U.S. between $40 and $50 billion in the period from 1954 to 1983. Thus, the federal appropriations for the development of combat lasers, an important part of SDI, stand at more than $2 billion.

On top of that, leading aerospace corporations that thrive on military contracts have been contributing an annual $30 million to preliminary studies of "promising" space weapon systems. So, the original capital invested in SDI was not as small as it might seem at first glance. In the past three years federal appropriations for SDI have been growing by arithmetical progression: 1.4 billion in 1985, 2.8 billion in 1986 and 3.5 billion in 1987. The Pentagon has requested $5.5 billion for 1988. In just four years, SDI has emerged as the biggest military research programme in the U.S.

To sell it to the general public as a "very cheap programme," the NBC network has polled former economic advisers in the four previous U.S. administrations. Asked about the likely impact of SDI on the U.S. economy, they were unanimous that the creation of SDI systems posed no economic or financial problem for the U.S. and that

the "star wars" programme over the next ten years could well be covered by the annual defence budget.

It is true that at the first stage SDI will be an economic problem not so much for the U.S. as for its allies. Attracted by the high interest rate, they have, to all intents and purposes, already remitted the money for the programme to the U.S. As long as testing space weapon prototypes does not involve major outlays, the Pentagon will manage to finance "star wars" out of its annual budgets. This will be further aided by the fact that in the coming years it will not be necessary to finance some major defence modernization programmes and the money earmarked for them can be switched to SDI. But the Pentagon will need gigantic sums when it comes to the manufacture and deployment of space systems. The White House will face the even more daunting problem of increasing its military spending, which will inevitably further increase the budget deficit.




**"We provide the ideas, you provide the money."**

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

## The main thing is to get the ball rolling

This is clearly understood on Capitol Hill where many legislators, sceptical of Reagan's idea of creating a "space shield," vote down his requests for SDI funding. The White House has found its traditional talk of a "Soviet menace" and the need to strengthen national security of little avail in its arguments with Congress. Gerald Yonas, former chief scientist of the SDI Organization who was responsible for awarding contracts for the development of space weapons, has complained: "Congress won't provide the funding unless you show that you are serious and yet you can't be serious without funding." So, the military lobby and the hawks in Washington are anxious to get as much as they can today. The underlying logic is clear: once SDI is set in motion, it will be impossible to stop.

According to the Washington Post, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger is trying to let the "star wars" jinn out of the bottle before President Reagan's term expires to commit the next president to a one-sided view of strategic policy wedded to "star wars." It follows from Caspar Weinberger's January report to Congress that already more than 600 contracts have been signed under SDI. Among the contractors are 70 private industrial and commercial firms and laboratories, 90 universities and research centres, and 190 small and medium companies. According to the West German magazine Wirtschaftswoche, the White House will have to allocate $20-25 billion to SDI to make it irreversible.

To justify higher spending on SDI, its advocates often cite the scientific and technological benefits it will yield. However, in this sphere the effect of "star wars" is even more doubtful than that of the race in other strategic and conventional weapons. In terms of scientific and technological returns, investment in the military business comes to less than 10 per cent of that of civilian research investments. Most military developments are not convertible to civilian purposes. The twin-purpose space technologies (military and civilian) to be designed under SDI would cost the American taxpayer considerably more than the creation of the same technologies as a component of the peaceful exploration of space.

So, attempts by right-wing politicians to sell the "star wars" programme as beneficial for the economy and for American society is plain cheating. Devouring more and more material and intellectual resources every day, SDI has become a parasite on the body of the U.S. and the whole capitalist economy.

As Mikhail Gorbachev said addressing the workers at the Baikonur space launching site and of the town of Leninsk, SDI does not merely rob the taxpayer. The economic folly of SDI does not make it any less dangerous. The military-industrial complex is in some ways an enclave developing according to its own laws. Its main aim is to derive profits from the national budget by speculating on national security needs. However, the reliance on "star wars," far from reducing it, is exacerbating the problem of security for the U.S. and the world. Preparation for "star wars" is preventing the American people and the peoples of other countries from using space for peaceful purposes, and establishing broad international cooperation for economic and social progress. ■

# The Energy booster in orbit

**The two-stage all-purpose Energia (Energy) booster rocket is capable of putting a payload of upward of 100 tons into orbit and has a take-off mass of over 2,000 tons. It was first launched from the Baikonur cosmodrome on May 15.**

**After the first stage had burned out, it separated and landed within the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. The second stage having orbited the satellite mock-up as planned, separated and splashed down in the appropriate sector of the Pacific. However, the satellite mock-up, whose own motor should have put it into orbit, splashed down in the Pacific because of malfunctioning on-board systems.**

**The trials of the booster, which has been designed to orbit shuttle craft and large vehicles carrying research and production facilities, have provided initial confirmation of the correctness of the engineering, design, and technical options selected. Foreign specialists have given high praise to this latest achievement of Soviet space science and engineering.**

# Diabetes: the scalpel instead of insulin?

At first glance this small glass vial, warm to the touch, seemed to contain nothing but the bright-orange liquid that half filled it. Through a magnifying glass, however, it turned out to have tiny spheres as if embedded in its transparent walls.

"These are beta cells," Valentin Blyumkin, D.Sc. (Med.), chief of the tissue culture laboratory of the Transplantology and Artificial Organs Research Institute of the U.S.S.R. Health Ministry, told me. "It is they that produce insulin, the hormone administered to diabetics. In every such vial we grow literally tens of millions of beta cells. Later we shall pass them on to our institute's clinical department, where they are implanted in the tissue of grave diabetes patients."

What had brought me to the tissue culture laboratory was the desire to find out about new methods of treating diabetes mellitus. How is science fighting diabetes mellitus today?

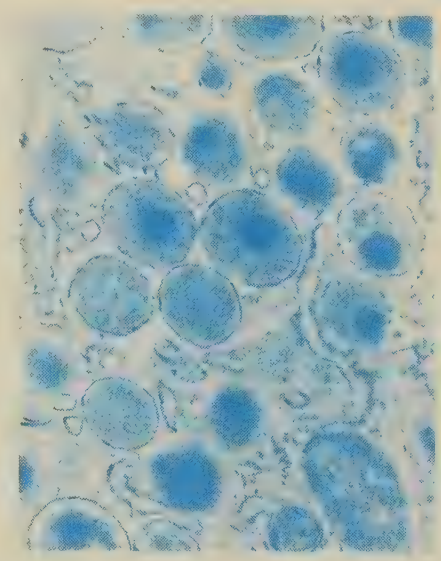
First, a few statistics. There were about 30 million diabetics worldwide in 1980. Experts at the World Health Organization expect the figure to almost double within the next fifteen years. In the U.S.S.R., roughly seven million people suffer from the disease.

Pancreas transplantation is certainly a promising, albeit risky, method of curing diabetes. Over 900 such transplants have been carried out in the U.S., Sweden, Switzerland and other countries. Such operations are performed in the Soviet Union too. However, pancreas transplantation is still far from being common practice. It involves too great a danger of postoperative complications, such as tissue rejection, vascular thrombosis, and all sorts of infections. In time, doctors will certainly learn to cope with most of these complications. Some progress has already been made in this direction. Nevertheless, a transplanted pancreas lasts only seven years at the most, which is far too short.

The idea of transplanting the endocrinal tissue of the pancreas instead of the whole organ occurred to the prominent Russian scientist Leonid Sobolev as long ago as 1900, but was corroborated in practice only seventy-seven years later when a diabetic had part of his pancreas replaced by a transplant at University of Minnesota in the U.S. The operation was not entirely successful, but it raised scientists' hopes. . . .

## The prospects of beta cell transplantation

In the Soviet Union, beta cell transplantation was pioneered by Valery Shumakov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences, director of the Transplantology and Artificial Organs Institute. The transplant was carried out on October 4, 1979. Experimental research into the problem had started much earlier than that, in 1975. Research findings made it clear that the right thing to do was to transplant cultured pancreatic cells rather than the tissue itself.



**A beta cell fragment under an electron microscope (magnified 30,000 times).**

Let us make a brief excursus into history. Science mounted its first attack on diabetes over a century ago. It started with the German histologist Paul Langerhans discovering some mysterious "islets" (from the Latin "insula"), later named after him. Subsequent studies—Sobolev's among them—established that the Langerhans' islets are responsible for the level of the blood sugar. In 1921 the Canadian scientists Frederik Banting and Charles Best isolated insulin from them.

Scientists at the Transplantology and Artificial Organs Institute developed an ingenious method of obtaining cell cultures from human and animal pancreases. The cultures are grown in a special nutritive medium, a vial of which I was shown at the laboratory. It has turned out that cultured animal cells adapt well to the human organism. In 80 cases out of 220, cells grown from the pancreatic tissue of suckling pigs were used as transplants, as pig insulin is largely similar in composition to that found in humans. Transplantation proved a success. With time the technique of introducing the cells to the human organism was simplified considerably. Previously, the procedure involved a veritable surgical operation, with insular beta cells introduced through the portal vein by making an incision in the abdominal cavity; now transplantation is carried out by the simple act of injecting a cell suspension into the patient's abdominal muscles with an ordinary syringe.

Does this method of cell transplantation relieve patients of the need to have regular insulin injections, readers are sure to ask. Unfortunately, it does not. But then, what scientists were attempting was not to effect a 100 per cent cure, but to combat late complications of diabetes and make the disease less of a nuisance to the patient. Insular cell transplantation stabilizes the level of the blood sugar, reduces the insulin dosage and improves the diabetic's general condition.

## Hormones bypass the liver

Recently the clinic at the 1st Moscow Medical Institute has developed a new way of treating diabetes.

"The most terrible thing about diabetes is," Professor Eduard Galperin, D. Sc. (Med.), the inventor of the new technique, told me, "that it affects young able-bodied people, effectively reducing them to invalidity. Diabetes is the prime cause of blindness; diabetics are more susceptible to premature atherosclerosis, hypertension, myocardial infarct and kidney disease."

Diabetes can be overcome, Professor Galperin believes, by surgically diverting glucagon—the substance which,

along with insulin, maintains a normal blood sugar balance in the organism—from the liver.

Here are some facts. In the human organism there is a hormone that "counteracts" insulin, causing the liver to intensify its glucose output and thus increase the blood sugar. Consequently, it is the ratio between these two opposing hormones that the level of the blood sugar depends on.

"I find this theory largely convincing," Professor Galperin said, "although many scientists are calling it into question today. I am convinced that every vital system is, as it were, a union of opposites."

Galperin connects the pancreas' glucagon outlet duct to a vessel that leads past the liver, thus making the hormone bypass the organ. Glucagon finds its may into the liver only upon mixing with injected insulin in the periphery, in which case the mixture is better balanced. This operation will certainly prove the salvation of the gravest cases where the blood sugar level is not sufficiently reduced by insulin injections.

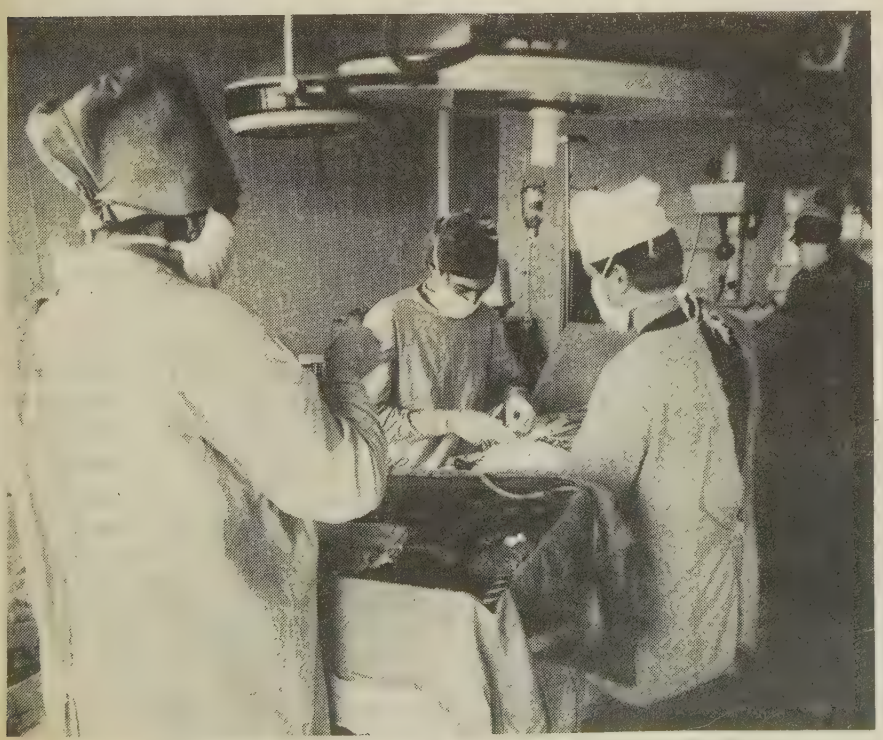
Does this operation in any way obviate the need for insulin injections? It does not, but after it insulin is required in much smaller doses. More than 80 such operations have already been performed to date in cooperation with the Kemerovo Medical Institute's surgical clinic headed by Professor Teodor Shrayer. The longer the time lapses after very operation, the more obvious its beneficial effect becomes.

Will this method of treating diabetes become widespread, or remain merely an emergency measure to be resorted to in the worst cases? Why not use it in the early stages of the disease, before the onset of dangerous complications? Numerous experiments on animals conducted in preparation for putting this method into clinical practice have as yet furnished no conclusive answer to this question. Time alone will tell. The clinic of the 1st Medical Institute and the All-Union Molecular Biology Research Institute under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Medical and Biological Industry are doing further research into the problem. However, a comprehensive strategy for fighting diabetes can be worked out only by joint efforts on the part of experts in various fields—internists, endocrinologists, biochemists, morphologists. They will need a coordinating centre. Whatever progress has been made in this direction is only the beginning. Professor Galperin's method has provoked interest in certain Moscow and Novosibirsk research institutes. But we must accept the fact that the cure for this serious disorder is still a long way off.

TATYANA FIRSOVA

**In the operating theatre.**

Photo by Alexander Kostin



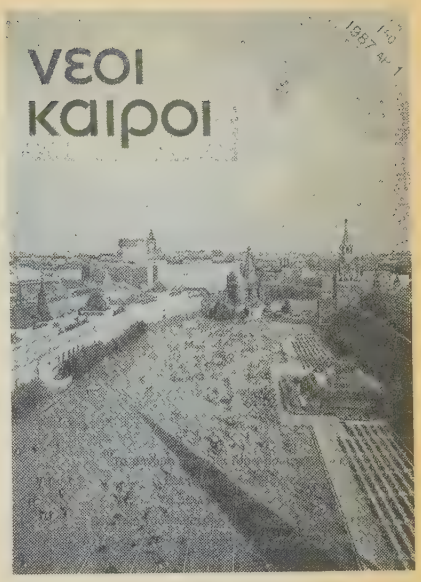
# New Times in Greece

The nine foreign languages in which New Times has been published to date are to be joined by a tenth—a Greek edition of the magazine appears in May.

On the front page, Greek readers will find Mikhail Gorbachev's message to the Delhi Six, which includes Greece.

In its 48 pages the magazine discusses the more important developments in today's world, new peace initiatives by the U.S.S.R., and aspects of present-day Soviet life. In particular, the recently-initiated practice of electing factory managers is treated in detail. Culture and science are also part of the magazine's subject matter.

"By giving the Greek public a better idea of everyday life in the U.S.S.R. and Soviet efforts to curb the arms race and eliminate nuclear weapons the magazine will foster the mutual sympathy of our two peoples," said Kostas Michaelides, director of Nei Keri Elladas and publisher of the Greek edition of New Times.



# The voice of Vanuatu

## ONE NATIONAL FLAG INSTEAD OF TWO FOREIGN ONES

OLEG SKALKIN

Women and children marched at the head of the mass demonstration I watched in Port Vila, the capital of the island Republic of Vanuatu. According to Melanesian tradition this was a sign of the demonstrators' good intentions. In ancient times that was the way contacts were established and peace restored between warring tribes. And although tribal warfare is now a thing of the past, the tradition remains. On that day it was meant to show the people's attitude towards the basic issue of international relations—the issue of war and peace.

An international conference had just ended in Port Vila at which representatives of the different countries of the South Pacific had come out against the militarization of the region and its transformation into an area of confrontation. The demonstrators were expressing their solidarity with the conference's decisions, and their support for their government's foreign policy, which had proclaimed the country a nuclear-free zone. The ruling Vanuaaku Party and the government headed by its leader Walter Lini strongly oppose the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Pacific and their tests in the area.

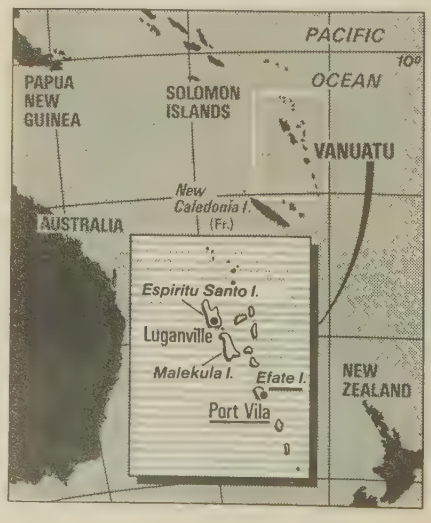
### In spite of blackmail

"In the past when the colonialists needed a work force they simply kidnapped islanders and took them away on their ships," Barak Sope, the General Secretary of the ruling party, said recently. "Then they needed our land, and they took it away from us for their plantations. Now they need the ocean to dump their nuclear waste and test their nuclear missiles. A submarine armed with Trident missiles is a far cry from the sailing vessels of the slave traders, but for us they are both vessels of the same old fleet. That is why Vanuatu is against nuclear colonialism in the Pacific Ocean."

This opposition is backed by action. Several years ago a squadron of American warships wanted to fly the American flag in Mele Bay, on which Port Vila stands. The commander refused to give assurances that his ships carried no nuclear weapons and so, on the insistence of the Vanuatu authorities, the squadron had to change course. This incident occurred long before the government of New Zealand took a similar stand with regard to foreign nuclear vessels, which led to the long-drawn-out confrontation between Washington and Wellington. The Vanuatu incident did not cause such a strong reaction, nor was it publicized to such an extent in the world press. But it left its mark.

The U.S. administration viewed Vanuatu's refusal as a challenge to its claims to treat the region as its backyard. The small island republic found itself the target of the main guns of imperialist propaganda. Virtually every independent foreign policy action taken by Port Vila provokes acute irritation in America. A sinister meaning was read into Vanuatu joining the non-aligned movement. Its policy with regard to the national liberation movements in neighbouring New Caledonia and French Polynesia is distorted. Things have even gone so far as questioning the country's sovereign right to maintain normal diplomatic relations with countries not favoured by the United States or its ANZUS partner, Australia, as, for instance, when Vanuatu established contacts with Cuba and Libya. And when in June 1986 diplomatic relations were established between Vanuatu and the Soviet Union, and then last January the two countries concluded a fishing agreement, the attacks on Port Vila's foreign policy began increasingly to resemble almost open threats.

The idea of proclaiming the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone was popular in Port Vila long before it was given practical implementation in the Rarotonga Treaty. Vanuatu favours extending the provisions of the treaty also to ban the entry of foreign ships with nuclear weapons on board into the ports of South Pacific countries, and the use of their air space by aircraft with nuclear bombs. And the voice of Vanuatu is increasingly making itself heard.




The young republic staunchly protects its sovereign rights from neocolonialist encroachments. Early this May Port Vila banned Australian naval vessels and warplanes from the archipelago's ports and airdromes which goes to show that Vanuatu is determined to carry on its independent foreign policy.

### Under a triple yoke

The Republic of Vanuatu appeared on the political map of the world less than seven years ago—on July 30, 1980. I first had occasion to visit the string of islands that stretch from latitude about 10° south to the Tropic of Capricorn when the country they formed was a colony called the New Hebrides. It was an unusual colony, under dual rule—a British and French condominium. Virtually whichever way you turned you came up against the uniqueness of the situation. From the double masts that lined the streets two flags hung—the French tricolour and the British Union Jack. The British Bobby in his typical helmet patrolling the streets was followed by an agent in shorts with an equally typical French military cap on his head. Portraits of the British Queen hung side by side with photographs of the French President in banks. And Churchill Street at one point turns into Avenue de Gaulle.

The colonial symbiosis has led to an ungainly division of public life. The school system was divided, depending on the language of tuition: English or French, while the native language Bislama was an outcast. The French-speaking population are predominantly Catholic as a result of the efforts of French missionaries. Their neighbours and brothers who speak English are in the main Protestants. For all the British authorities in the capital, courts, prisons and various offices, there existed French doubles. This absurd system of administration—intricate, top-heavy and expensive—was the outcome of forced compromises between the colonial partners going back to the beginning of this century. Each watched jealously over his own interests, while those of the indigenous population—the Melanesians—were ignored. The dual colonialism meant a triple yoke for the local population: the joint Anglo-French yoke plus that of each colonial power taken separately. Rural areas suffered worst of all.

To this day up to 80 per cent of the 135,000-strong population are engaged in agriculture, with natural economies predominating. This means that most of the people living in the villages dotted along the road that winds its way across Efate, the island in which the capital is situated, produce just enough to feed themselves. Occasionally they sell a few avocado pears or papayas from roadside stalls—and that is all they know about monetary-commodity relations.

The land and climate of Vanuatu make it something of a paradise—at any time of the year taro and yams grow there, as well as bananas, mangos and other fruits and root vegetables. Along with the seafood that can be brought in from the lagoons at low tide, they give many of the islanders food and life. But from the main wealth of this country made up of 82 islands—the coconut palms—they got only the crumbs. Three hundred foreign plantation owners, mostly French, have taken over three quarters of all fertile land. That is where you find the coconut plantations—well tended and equipped with modern machinery. The money made from the export of copra (dried coconut meat) accounted for 75 per cent of the exchequer's export earnings. For the most part the money went into the pockets of the plantation owners, as well as the safes of the Australian company Burns Philp and the French Ballande Vanuatu, which bought up the copra for a song from the Melanesians. They were fully aware that independence would put an end to their privileges and so they tried to stall it as best as they could.

Just before the end of the age of dual colonialism an atmosphere of apprehension and animation reigned in Port Vila. Rumours were rife of impending plots, of weapons brought in secretly from Australia and French New Caledonia for those who would resist the changes arms in hand.

And indeed, immediately after the proclamation of independence, a separatist revolt flared up on the island of Espiritu Santo, which, as has now been learnt, had the blessing of the European plantation owners.

## A policy of reform

I returned to Port Vila—now the capital of a sovereign republic. I can't say the city has changed beyond recognition, but the changes are there and they are unmistakable. New buildings have gone up, the offices and institutions have changed, and so, most importantly of all, has the atmosphere—relaxed, yet confident and optimistic. The New Hebrides francs have been replaced by a new currency—the vatu. Its rate of exchange is fairly stable as a result of anti-inflation measures.

**At Port Vila market.**

Photo by author

The economic policy pursued by Walter Lini's government is founded on a very simple principle: the entire wealth of the country and its land must be made to serve the people of Vanuatu. Using this as a yardstick for its practical measures, the government has kept certain sectors of the economy as the sphere of activities of national capital. Foreign companies are gradually being pushed out of coasting shipping (which is linked with the purchase of copra from its producers). Local businessmen have also taken over the road haulage system. Many commercial undertakings are being launched in partnership with Australian or other foreign investors. In those sectors of the economy where national companies are as yet unable to operate foreign capital is allowed.

I was told in the Ministry of Finance and the planning committee that the country's economy is being developed in keeping with a five-year plan that started to operate in 1982. Of prime importance for the government's development strategy is land reform. Under the Constitution only Vanuatu citizens have the right to own land. Historical justice is now being restored and the consequences of colonial rule are being righted. However, this is being done cautiously and carefully, so as not to damage the plantation system, which remains the basis of the economy. Where it is desirable from the point of view of productivity, foreigners are allowed to lease land from its real owners. The reform has opened up new possibilities for advancing agriculture and ensuring its diversification. Stock farming for meat production and the growing of coffee, cocoa, and other crops are assuming increasing importance. The prospects of the fishing industry are promising. The Soviet-Vanuatu fishing agreement mentioned earlier could help promote this development. Under this agreement, our fishing boats have received the right to fish for tuna in the 200-mile Vanuatu economic zone and call at its ports to replenish supplies, for which the republic is paid $1,500,000 a year.

The changes that are taking place since the country acquired independence affect virtually all spheres of life. Local bodies of self-government have been set up, which facilitates links with outlying areas. The changes in the education policy introduced by the government are also immense.

Naturally, renovation does not come easy. The country has more than its share of economic and political difficulties, and its attempts to overcome them do not always meet with success. To this it should be added that the islands stand in the path of the southern winds, and so natural disasters cannot be avoided. I was shocked to hear of the trail of ruin left by a hurricane as it swept across the islands in February. That means fresh hardship for the people.

Nevertheless, the most important thing is that people know and feel that they are now masters of their own destiny. The changes in Vanuatu reaffirm what the name of their republic means: in all the local dialects it means "our land." The land belongs to those who live and work on it.

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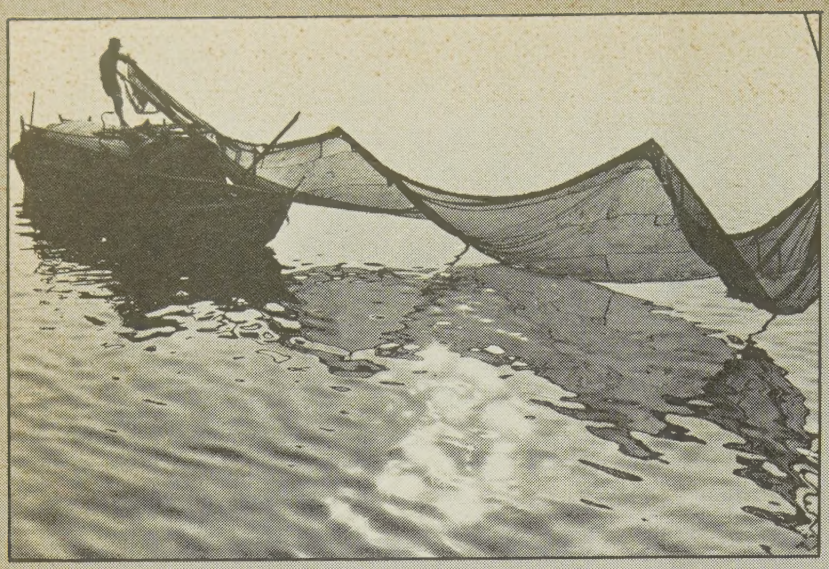

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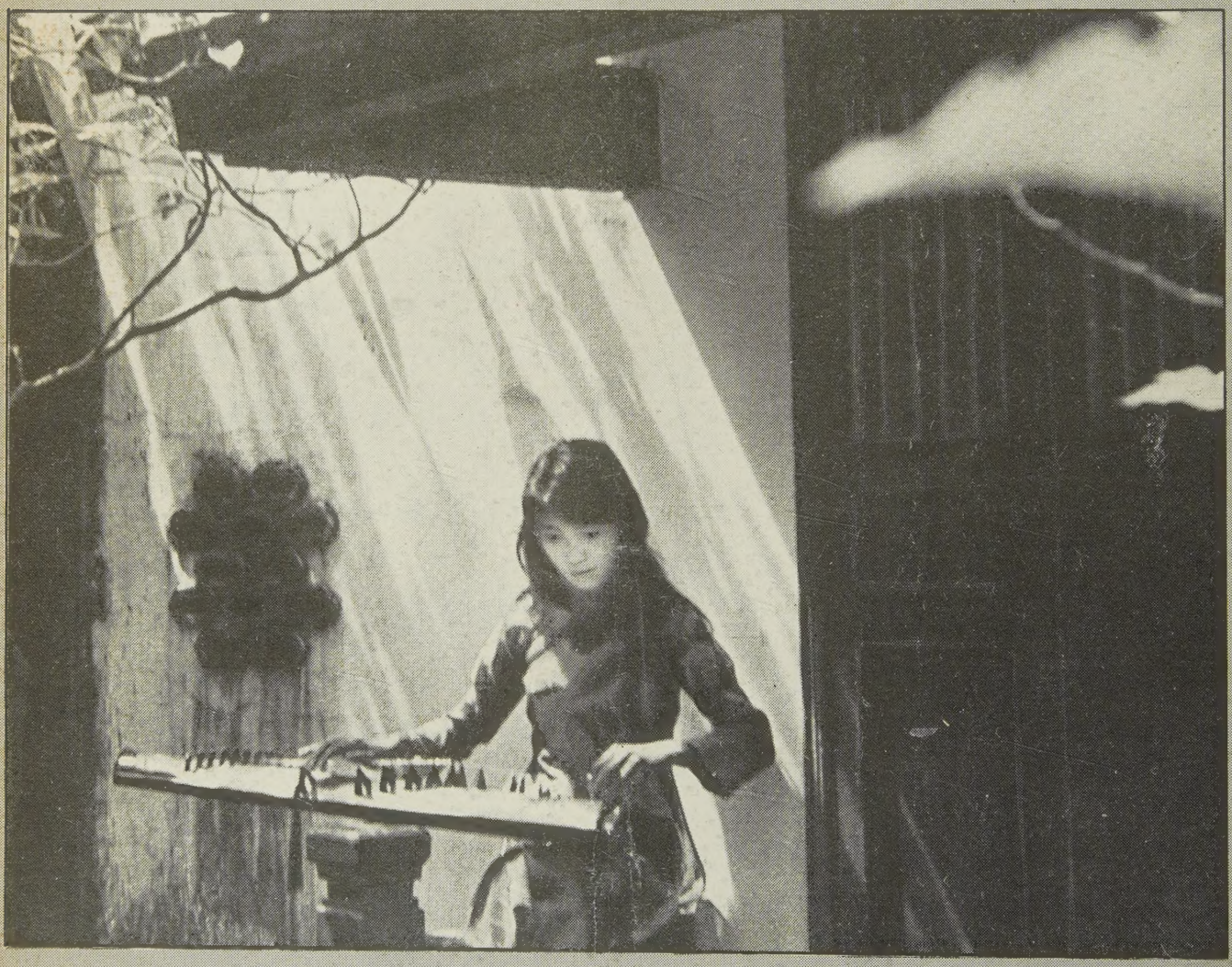

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